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JEWS AND CHRISTIANS IN EGYPT

The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy

ILLUSTRATED BY TEXTS FROM GREEK PAPYRI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

THE importance of the small groups of documents published in this volume made it advisable to edit and issue them more speedily than would have been possible if they took their turn among the general series of papyrus documents acquired by the Museum. They were acquired as a part of a joint purchase by the Museum and certain American and other universities, in which Prof. F. W. Kelsey of Michigan was the moving spirit; and fortunately it was found possible to arrange with the partners in the purchase that these groups should be kept together. Students of Roman administration, as well as scholars interested in Jewish antiquities, will welcome the new light thrown upon their subjects by the letter of the Emperor Claudius to Alexandria. No writer on the ecclesiastical history of the fourth century can dispense with a study of the new letter relating to the Meletian quarrels with St. Athanasius, or those from Paphnutius's archive, even if it should turn out that the interesting suggestion that among them is an autograph of St. Athanasius himself is less well founded than it seems at present. Accordingly Mr. H. I. Bell has prepared the texts, translations, and introductions here given of the Greek documents, and Mr. W. E. Crum has kindly edited the three Coptic letters, so as to place the material at once at the disposal of scholars. Should any further documents from the same source have been acquired in any quarter, this publication will call attention to their importance, and aid in their elucidation, and it is to be hoped that any such discoveries may be promptly made known. Five collotype facsimiles have been added as almost indispensable for the study of these, often difficult, texts.

J. P. GILSON.

March 13, 1924.

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CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE iii

NOTE vii

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA viii

ABBREVIATIONS AND METHOD OF PUBLICATION ix

I. CLAUDIUS TO THE ALEXANDRINES:—

1. *Palaeographical and diplomatic questions* 1
2. *The Imperial cult* 5
3. *The rights of the Alexandrines* 8
4. *The Jewish question* 10
5. *The character and policy of Claudius* 21

TEXT 23
TRANSLATION 27
COMMENTARY 29

II. THE MELETIAN SCHISM:—

INTRODUCTION 38
TEXTS AND COMMENTARY 45

III. THE CORRESPONDENCE OF PAPHNUTIUS:—

INTRODUCTION 100
TEXTS AND COMMENTARY 103

TABLE OF PAPYRI IN ORDER OF INVENTORY NUMBERS . . 121

INDICES:—

1. SUBJECT INDEX TO INTRODUCTIONS AND COMMENTARIES 122
2. PERSONAL INDEX 125
3. GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX 128
4. GENERAL INDEX:—
   (*a*) GREEK WORDS 128
   (*b*) COPTIC WORDS 136
5. INDEX OF REFERENCES:—
   (*a*) AUTHORS 137
   (*b*) INSCRIPTIONS 139
   (*c*) PAPYRI AND OSTRACA 139

FACSIMILES

Letter of Claudius. **1912**, col. 5 . . . . . Plate I
Letter from Alexandria. **1914**, recto . . . . . „ II
Letter of Hatre. **1920**, ll. 1–7
Letter of Paiêous. **1921**, ll. 22–8 } . . . . . „ III
Letter of Bês and Aphinge. **1922**, ll. 3–12
Letter of Ausonius. **1924** . . . . . „ IV
Letter of Athanasius. **1929** . . . . . „ V
Coin of Claudius representing Messalina as Demeter . . . . . p. 37

NOTE

FOR the reason stated by Mr. Gilson in the Preface this volume is a special publication, forming no part of the series *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*; and since its contents are likely to have a wider interest than those volumes, the method of publication has been altered. Not only are the texts printed in modern form, but the commentary is unusually full. Much doubtless remains to be done before these texts have yielded their full value, but it is hoped that the present volume will at least provide a sufficient basis for further study.

I should like to express my sincere thanks to all who have assisted me—first and foremost to Mr. W. E. Crum, whose services are by no means confined to his edition of the three Coptic letters, and to Prof. Hunt, to whose learning and insight texts and commentary owe far more than appears from the occurrences of his name in the notes. My colleague Mr. H. J. M. Milne has given frequent help in the decipherment or interpretation of difficult passages. The proofs of the volume have been read by Sir Frederic Kenyon and Mr. Gilson. To the vast bibliographical knowledge of Mr. Norman H. Baynes I am indebted for references to useful literature; to Prof. M. Rostovtzeff for notes on the Claudius letter; and to Mr. J. G. Milne for a valuable suggestion on the same. Mr. G. F. Hill kindly furnished for reproduction a cast of the coin of Claudius shown on p. 37. Mr. C. T. Lamacraft of this Department has, as always, done invaluable work in the preparation and piecing together of the papyri; and as before my thanks are due to the staff of the Clarendon Press.

H. I. B.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 9 f. Mr. J. G. Milne takes the passage about the senate as 'pretty conclusive evidence that the city had had one under the Ptolemies'. Had Claudius (who, for himself or through his advisers, must have known the facts) been aware that Alexandria had never had a senate he would have used that as an argument. 'I can quite easily', writes Mr. Milne, 'envisage the Permanent Secretary at Rome minuting: "Say that we can't discuss the arrangements which were definitely abolished by Augustus, but offer them an enquiry to keep them quiet".'

There is a good deal of weight in this argument, particularly as it comes with the force of official experience, but it still seems to the editor improbable that had Augustus abolished a senate Claudius, who more than once refers to his policy as a precedent, should not have mentioned the fact. That Alexandria had at one time had a senate seems however very likely.

Page 16. To the authorities cited on the question of the citizenship of the Jews may now be added Gelzer, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, x, 401, who takes a view practically identical with that here propounded (Baynes).

Page 19 f. Since Part I was printed there has appeared an important work on the so-called 'Heidnische Märtyrerakten', viz. A. von Premerstein, *Zu den sogenannten alexandrinischen Märtyrerakten* (*Philologus*, Supplementband xvi, Heft II, 1923). He deals (pp. 15–27) with the 'Isidorus *Acta*', of parts of which he gives a revised text, and dates the embassy to which they refer as 30 Apr., 1 May, A.D. 53.

Page 25, ll. 77–8. Prof. Hunt has suggested, since the first part of the volume was printed off, that the sense may be rather 'I will not go into the question of past responsibility, *but I shall have no mercy on the aggressor if the conflict is renewed.*' This (which does not necessarily involve the correction of ἀρξαμένων to ἀρξομένων) removes the difficulty noticed on p. 18 and explains the severity of the Emperor's measures indicated by BGU. 511 + Cairo 10448, and it may well be the correct interpretation.

Page 30, note on l. 17. Prof. Rostovtzeff refers to P. Oxy. xii, 1434, where we hear of an estate in the Oxyrhynchite nome formerly belonging to C. Julius Theon, father and son, in the reign of Augustus; cf. P. Ryl. ii, 145 (Euhemeria): τοῦ προεστῶτος τῆς Θέωνος τοῦ Θέωνος προσόδου, where the same persons may be concerned. It seems by no means unlikely that the younger C. Julius Theon, whose father is described as [γε]νομένου ἀρχιερέως καὶ ὑπομνημα[το]γρά(φου), was the father of our C. Julius Dionysius.

METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The method followed in this volume is in the main that which has now become all but universal in editions of non-literary papyri. The texts are given in modern form, with accents, breathings, and punctuation, symbols and abbreviations being extended. In the critical notes contractions, lectional signs, and corrections in the original are recorded, and mistakes and mis-spellings (not, however, established vulgarisms of grammar and spelling) are corrected. In the texts the signs ` ´ represent words or letters added later in the original, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ those omitted in the original but supplied by the editor, square brackets [ ] those lost in the original and restored by the editor, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters in the original, double square brackets ⟦ ⟧ a deletion in the original. Dots are placed under letters which in the MSS. are doubtful or very imperfect; dots between square brackets indicate the estimated number of letters lost in a lacuna, dots outside brackets letters visible but unread. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the catalogue numbers of papyri in this volume and in volumes IV and V of *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*.

The following are the less easily recognized abbreviated references to the authorities cited:—

Apophth. Patrum = *Apophthegmata Patrum*, cited from the text in Migne, *P.G.*, lxv.

Archiv = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.

Athan. or Athanasius = the works of St. Athanasius, cited from the text in Migne, *P.G.*, xxv, xxvi.

BGU. = *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin: Griechische Urkunden*, vols. i–iv.

Bludau = A. Bludau, *Juden und Judenverfolgungen im alten Alexandria*, Münster i. W., 1906.

C. I. G. = A. Boeckh, etc., *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berolini, 1828–1877.

C. I. L. = T. Mommsen, etc., *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berolini, 1863, etc.

Cantarelli = L. Cantarelli, *La serie dei prefetti di Egitto*, I, Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Roma, 1906.

Crum, *Catal.* or *Catalogue* = W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1905.

Crum, *Coptic MSS.* = W. E. Crum, *Coptic Manuscripts brought from the Fayyum*, London, 1893.

Crum, *Ostr.* = W. E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca*, London, 1902.

Crum, *Short Texts* = W. E. Crum, *Short Texts from Coptic Ostraca and Papyri*, London, 1921.

Daremberg-Saglio = Ch. Daremberg et E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1873–1919.

Dessau = H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berolini, 1892–1916.

Dio Cassius, cited from the Teubner text (ed. Dindorf, vol. iii, Lipsiae, 1864).

Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* = W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, Lipsiae, 1903, 1905.

Dittenberger, *Syll. Inscr. Gr.*^{3} = W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. 3, Lipsiae, 1915, etc.

Epiphanius, *Adv(ersus) Haer(eses)*, cited from the text in Migne, *P. G.*, xlii.

Eusebius (of Caesarea), cited from the text in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (ed. I. A. Heikel, Band I, Leipzig, 1902).

G. G. N. = *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*

Ghedini = G. Ghedini, *Lettere cristiane dai papiri greci del III e IV secolo* (*Supplementi ad 'Aegyptus', Serie divulgazione, sez. greco-romana*, n. 3), Milano, 1923.

Gnomon = W. Schubart, *Der Gnomon des Idios Logos* (= BGU. v. Heft 1), Berlin, 1919.

Hall, *Copt. and Greek Texts* = H. R. Hall, *Coptic and Greek Texts of the Christian Period . . . in the British Museum*, London, 1905.

Hilary of Poictiers, cited from the text in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. lxv (ed. A. Feder, Vindobonae, Lipsiae, 1916).

Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten* = H. O. Hirschfeld, *Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, 2te Auflage, Berlin, 1905.

Hist. Laus. = Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, cited from the text in J. A. Robinson, *Texts and Studies*: vol. vi, C. Butler, *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, Cambridge, 1898, 1904.

I. G. Rom. = R. Cagnat, etc., *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes*, Paris, 1901, etc.

Jannaris = A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, London, 1897.

Josephus, cited from the Teubner text (ed. S. A. Naber, Lipsiae, 1888–1896).

Jouguet, *Vie municipale* = P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine*, Paris, 1911.

Juster = J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain*, Paris, 1914.

Krall = J. Krall, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri: Koptische Texte*, Wien, 1895.

L. and S. = H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 8th ed., Oxford, 1897.

Lafoscade, *De Epistulis* = L. Lafoscade, *De epistulis (aliisque titulis) imperatorum magistratuumque Romanorum quas ab aetate Augusti usque ad Constantinum Graece scriptas lapides papyrique servaverunt*, Insulis, 1902.

Lauchert = Fr. Lauchert, *Leben des heiligen Athanasius des Grossen*, Köln, 1911.

Lausiac Hist. See *Hist. Laus.*

Migne, *P.G.* = J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca.* (The texts are quoted with some changes of punctuation.)

Mitteis, *Grundzüge.* See Wilcken, *Grundzüge.*

Moulton and Milligan = J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, London, 1915, etc.

O. Strassb. = P. Viereck, *Griechische und Griechisch-Demotische Ostraka der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg im Elsass*, Berlin, 1923.

P. Amh. = B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Amherst Papyri*, Part II, London, 1901.

P. Cairo Masp. = *Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*: J. Maspéro, *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, Le Caire, 1911–1916.

P. Cairo Preis. = Fr. Preisigke, *Griechische Urkunden des Ägyptischen Museums zu Kairo* (*Schriften der Wiss. Ges. in Strassburg*, 8. Heft), Strassburg, 1911.

P. Fay. = B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, London, 1900.

P. Flor. = G. Vitelli and D. Comparetti, *Papiri Fiorentini*, Milano, 1906–1915.

P. Gen. = J. Nicole, *Les Papyrus de Genève*, Genève, 1896.

P. Hib. = B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Hibeh Papyri*, Part I, London, 1906.

P. Iand. = C. Kalbfleisch, etc., *Papyri Iandanae*, Fasc. I–IV, Lipsiae, 1912–1914.

P. Lips. = L. Mitteis, *Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig*, Leipzig, 1906.

P. Lond. = *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vols. i–iii, 1893–1907.

P. O. = R. Graffin and F. Nau, *Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris, 1907, etc.

P. Oxy. = B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 1898, etc.

P. Ryl. = *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*: vol. ii, ed. by J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin, and A. S. Hunt, Manchester, 1915.

P. Ryl. Copt. = W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, Manchester, 1909.

P. S. I. = *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto*: *Papiri greci e latini*, vol. i–vi, Firenze, 1912–1920.

P. Tebt. = B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, E. J. Goodspeed, *The Tebtunis Papyri*, Part II, London, 1907.

P. Thead. = P. Jouguet, *Papyrus de Théadelphie*, Paris, 1911.

Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenchaft, neue Bearbeitung*, edited by G. Wissowa and W. Kroll, Stuttgart, 1894, etc.

Philo, cited from the text of L. Cohn and P. Wendland, Berolini, 1896–1915, with references to the pages of (T.) M(angey's) edition.

Preisigke, *Namenbuch* = Fr. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, Heidelberg, 1922.

Prosop. Imp. Rom. = E. Klebs, H. Dessau, P. de Rohden, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I, II, III*, Berolini, 1897, 1898.

Rogala = S. Rogala, *Die Anfänge des arianischen Streites* (*Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur und Dogmengeschichte*, vii. 1), Paderborn, 1907.

Rufinus, *H(istoria) E(cclesiastica)*, cited from the text in Migne, *P(atrologia) L(atina)*, xxi.

SB. = Fr. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, Bd. I, II, Strassburg, 1915–1922.

Schubart, *Ägypten* = W. Schubart, *Ägypten von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf Mohammed*, Berlin, 1922.

Schürer = E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 3rd–4th ed., 1898–1909.

Seneca, *Apoc(olocyntosis = Ludus de morte Claudii)*, cited from the Teubner text (ed. Fr. Haase, Lipsiae, 1902).

Socr(ates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*), cited from the text in Migne, *P. G.*, lxvii.

Sophocles = E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1914.

Sozomen (*Historia Ecclesiastica*), cited from the text in Migne, *P. G.*, lxvii.

Spiegelberg, *Eigennamen* = W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit* (*Demotische Studien*, Heft I), Leipzig, 1901.

Stephanus, *Thesaurus* = H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, Parisiis, 1831, etc.

Stud. Pal. = C. Wessely, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde.*

Stzgsber. Pr. Akad. = *Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie.*

Suetonius, cited from the text of M. Ihm (Lipsiae, 1907).

Theodoret, *H*(*istoria*) *E*(*cclesiastica*), cited from the text in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (ed. L. Parmentier, Leipzig, 1911); *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium* from that in Migne, *P. G.*, lxxxiii.

Wilcken, *Antisemitismus* = U. Wilcken, *Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus* (*Abh. Kön. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, lvii, 1909, 783–839).

Wilcken, *Chrest.* and *Grundzüge* = L. Mitteis und U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, Leipzig–Berlin, 1912.

Z. d. Sav.-St. = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung.*

JEWS AND CHRISTIANS IN EGYPT

I. CLAUDIUS TO THE ALEXANDRINES

PAPYRUS **1912**.—A. D. 41.

Inv. No. 2248 verso. 29 × 116·5 cm.

Acquired in 1921. In a small cursive hand, larger at the beginnings of lines, usually legible but occasionally becoming very rapid and less easy to read; papyrus of light colour. The left side of the roll (verso) is imperfect and a good deal damaged; the portion containing the Claudius letter is mostly well preserved but is slightly damaged in places, especially at the foot of col. 2. Facsimile of Col. 5: Plate I.

1. *Palaeographical and diplomatic questions.*

Till about ten years ago Philadelphia in the Heraclides Division of the Arsinoite nome, though represented by a fair number of papyri in various collections, played a far less important part in the records of papyrology than such Fayum sites as Arsinoe, Socnopaei Nesus, Tebtunis, or Theadelphia. In 1900–1 Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt excavated the necropolis with indifferent success, but succeeded in identifying the site of Philadelphia, near the village of Rubayyât. The actual site is Darb el-Gerza; and here, in 1914 or early in 1915, was discovered the very important 'archive of Zeno', that collection of early Ptolemaic texts which has made the name of Philadelphia famous.[1] Portions of this archive had been unearthed a few years previously; sporadic digging by natives had evidently gone on for some time. The discovery of the main archive attracted more attention to the site, and it is clear that searches still continue to be made, since papyri from Philadelphia are at the present time not infrequently to be found on the market. Only one discovery of great importance has, however, been made since that of the Zeno papyri, and this appears to have occurred late in 1920 or early in 1921. Internal evidence suggests that the discovery was made in the ruins of a building, for the papyri found form parts of a single archive, apparently that of the comogrammateis (or of a single comogrammateus) in the reigns of Gaius, Claudius, and the early years of Nero; one or two of the documents go back to Tiberius. The papyri, or many of them, were offered to

[1] For this archive and the history of Philadelphia see M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the third century* B.C., Madison, 1922.

Cairo dealers but for the most part refused on the ground that, being chiefly registers, they were of no value. Rather more than forty, however, including several long and unusually well-preserved rolls, were bought, and in 1921 were sold, with many other papyri, to a syndicate of buyers, consisting of the British Museum, the Universities of Cornell, Princeton, and Michigan, and the Library of Geneva. The Gerza papyri were divided among all the purchasers except Michigan; and the last-named University in the summer of 1922 succeeded in securing at least a large portion of the residue of the archive, which had remained in the hands of the finders. It is hoped that arrangements will ultimately be made for a joint publication of the whole archive, which is of considerable importance for the history of Philadelphia, and village administration generally; but the present text is of sufficient interest to justify separate publication, particularly as it has nothing to do with Philadelphia, its presence in the Gerza archive being purely fortuitous.

The Claudius letter, with the prefect's edict ordering its publication, was copied on the verso of a long but imperfect roll, the recto of which contains a tax-register. The letter and edict, which are complete, occupied only part of the verso; before the column containing the edict are the ends of lines of a column forming part of a register, the nature of which it is hardly possible to determine, and between Columns 2 and 3 is inserted, the reverse way up, a list of names. These registers on the verso are apparently in the same hand as the Claudius letter, as may also be the text on the recto. The roll, imperfect on the left, may well be complete on the right.

The presence of the Claudius letter in a collection of village records whose reference is purely local is at first sight not easy to account for, and may be due to the private interest of the writer; but though the letter deals in the main with matters affecting only the city of Alexandria itself, Claudius does also announce his decisions concerning the Alexandrian citizenship and the rights attaching to it, so that if Philadelphia contained any Alexandrian citizens or any property belonging to Alexandrines there was a reason for the village officials to be interested in its contents. One person at least who occurs in the register on the recto (it is true, to judge from the name, an Egyptian) is referred to as *ἐν Ἀλεξανδ(ρείᾳ)*.

The copyist, though he wrote a good and practised hand, was careless, and his orthography is such as we can hardly suppose to have characterized the letter shown at Alexandria, even if that was, as is probable (see below), merely a translation of a Latin original. Apart from the common confusion of *ι* and *ει*, *ε* and *αι*, which would not be surprising even in the productions of the Imperial or prefectal chancery, but which is more constant here than would be expected from an educated writer, we find confusion of *υ* and *οι* (*υ* for *οἱ*, ll. 20, 61, 64, *νον* for *οἷον*, l. 81, *δευ* for *δέοι* (l. 72, *υς* for *οἷς*, l. 87, *λοιμενωνται* for *λυμαίνωνται*, l. 86), of *υ* and *η* *ἡμεῖς*, *ἡμέτερος* frequently interchanged with *ὑμεῖς*, *ὑμέτερος*), *-ιος* shortened to *-ις* (*Απολλωνις*, l. 16, *Κλαυδις Απολλωνις*, l. 19), *ο* and *ω* constantly interchanged (e. g. *προτων* for *πρῶτον*, l. 69, *κληροτους* for *κληρωτούς*, l. 61, *φωβωι* for *φόβωι*, l. 64), *κθ* for *χθ* (*προσενεκθήσονται*, l. 65, *ἐπράκθη*, l. 92), iota adscript often incorrectly inserted (e. g. *γεινώσκωι*, l. 53, *μαρτυρῶι*, l. 105), and *Αιμιλλιος* (*-ωι*) twice written

for Αἰμίλιος (ll. 1, 70). Such mistakes, which represent the actual pronunciation but not the orthography, suggest a scribe writing from dictation, but there are others which seem to be due to copying from a written source. The omission of ὅτι, indeed, in l. 33 and even γαρχοντες for γὰρ ἄρχοντες (l. 64) are mistakes which a scribe writing from dictation might make, but the blunder in l. 45, where we have to restore something like ἀναστάσεις ⟨ὰς περὶ τὰς εἰσ⟩βολάς, must be due to the copyist's eye having skipped from the first to the second εισ. The mis-writing ομοια, corrected to ενοια, in l. 10 points in the same direction. It is quite possible that the text passed through two stages: it may have been read from the exhibited roll (which was perhaps not conveniently placed for direct copying) to an amanuensis, from whose hasty manuscript it was subsequently copied out at Philadelphia.

The prefect's edict is given in full, but this is clearly not the case with the letter of Claudius, which, though it concludes with the final greeting (ἔρρωσθε), has no date; for it seems out of the question that the date should be omitted from a letter of this importance. Doubtless the scribe thought it unnecessary to copy the date, which certainly stood, as usual, at the end of the letter (see examples in Lafoscade, *De Epistulis*); so too several of the letters collected by Lafoscade lack the dating clause.

The question must now be raised whether the Greek text here published was the original form of the letter. This is certainly the natural assumption in the case of a letter written to such a city as Alexandria. We know that Greek was employed as well as Latin in the Imperial chancery,[1] and A. Stein, after a careful discussion of the question, lays down the rule (*Unters. z. Gesch. u. Verw. Aegyptens*, p. 158 f.) that Imperial rescripts addressed to private persons (including Roman citizens) and edicts intended for publication in Egypt were written in Greek, rescripts and mandates to Roman Imperial officials and announcements to the troops in Latin. The present letter certainly falls under the first category rather than the second, and there seems little point in addressing the citizens of Alexandria in a language which very few of them can have understood. The actual text, however, raises a doubt. In the first place, Stein (*op. cit.*, pp. 83, foot-note, 155[1]) points out that 'the exact Imperial title, especially the mention of the *tribunicia potestas*', implies translation from the Latin; and though it may perhaps be objected that this is only an inference and possibly an erroneous one, yet it is certainly supported by the known papyrus evidence. Now the present letter has the full Imperial title, including the *tribunicia potestas*,[2] and it ought therefore, on Stein's principles, to be a translation from the Latin. That it is a translation is strongly suggested by the style, which frequently recalls Latin idioms or turns of phrase; and though, as Lafoscade maintains, even letters in which Latinisms occur were often written in Greek (by

[1] See, e.g., H. Peter, *Die gesch. Litt. üb. die röm. Kaiserzeit bis Theodosius I* (1897), i, p. 6 f., 339.

[2] Stein points out (p. 162) that the letter of Claudius in Josephus, *Ant.*, xix, 280–5, also has the full title, whereas, on his principles, it should have been written in Greek; but he expresses doubts as to its genuineness. As is pointed out below (p. 15 f.), there seems no adequate reason for rejecting it, and so far as the Imperial title is concerned it finds a complete analogy in the present letter.

Romans or Greeks influenced by the use of Latin),[1] there are features in the present letter which perhaps point rather to translation from a Latin original than to Greek composition by a writer whose ordinary language was Latin. It is a point not easy to settle, in view of the undoubted influence which Latin idiom exercised on the Greek of the Empire, and one's conclusion must depend rather on the general effect than on any particular passage; but the total impression does seem to be that of Latin style rather than Greek. It is noteworthy how naturally many passages would go into Latin, and here and there are phrases which suggest a Latin original, such as l. 29, καίπερ οὐκ ὢν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥάιδιος (*quamvis ad talia non facilis*?). In the note on l. 103 f. it is suggested that the omission of τῆς, expected in Greek, may be due to translation from the Latin.[2] None of these arguments nor even the sum of them can be regarded as conclusive, but they give additional force to that drawn from the use of the full Imperial title.

Of course, even if a Latin original be conceded, it does not follow that the letter was sent to Alexandria in that language; it may have been translated in the Imperial chancery, as we know was a regular practice. But the use of the full title points to its having been sent in Latin; and it is not impossible that it was. Claudius, though an assiduous student of Greek,[3] was a stickler for the use of Latin by Roman citizens,[4] and may have deliberately used Latin as a reminder o the unruly Alexandrines of the majesty of Rome.[5]

Whatever be the truth as to this question, it stands to reason that the letter was published in Greek. In his recent article on the Imperial rescripts[6] Wilcken points out that publication (*propositio*) was applied only to *subscriptiones*, not to *epistulae*.[7] The present document is of course an *epistula*, but its publication does not constitute an exception to Wilcken's rule, for, as Wilcken points out, it was always open to the recipient to publish a letter if he thought good, and in this case there was ample reason. The letter was addressed not to an individual magistrate, not even to the κοινόν of magistrates, but to 'the city of the Alexandrines' in general; and it appears from the prefect's edict that it was publicly read at a meeting of citizens. But since only a portion of the citizens were able to be present, the prefect deemed it good to exhibit (ἐκθεῖναι, *proponere*) the letter so that all might read it. It may perhaps be inferred from this that the letter was not given to the ambassadors, but sent to the city through the prefect; in any case that the publication could be ordered only by the latter.

[1] So too, even more definitely, P. Viereck, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1903, 145–6.

[2] On the criteria of Latin style see, e. g., Schubart, *Gnomon*, p. 7.

[3] Suetonius, 42; Josephus, *Ant.*, xix, 213.

[4] Suetonius, 16; Dio Cassius, lx, 17, 4.

[5] If we could be certain that the *edict* (not letter) of the Philhellenic Emperor Hadrian published by Jouguet (*Rev. ét. gr.*, xxxiii, 1920, 375 ff.) is a translation from a Latin original this would strengthen the case for a Latin original of our *letter*; but though the hypothesis is suggested by the existence of two copies not quite identical in wording the differences cannot certainly be regarded as due to anything more than faulty copying from a Greek text.

[6] *Zu den Kaiserreskripten*, in *Hermes*, lv, 1–42.

[7] pp. 15, 21.

2. *The Imperial cult.*

The embassy which was the occasion for the writing of the present letter had three objects: firstly, to congratulate Claudius on his accession and, in connexion therewith, to request his acceptance of various honours; secondly, to ask for certain favours; thirdly, to present the official *apologia* of the city for the recent anti-Jewish disturbances. Claudius deals with these subjects in the above order.

The honours voted are largely concerned with the Imperial cult, for which therefore our letter is a very valuable document, though on some points its evidence is not as explicit as we could wish.[1] The attitude of Claudius, though it perhaps shows some inconsistencies, is what we should expect, in view of his temperament and general outlook as described by Suetonius and Dio Cassius. He declines the offer of temples and of the appointment of an ἀρχιερεύς, and in so doing states his position with regard to the question: 'for I do not wish to be offensive (φορτικός) to my contemporaries, and I hold that sacred fanes and the like have by all ages been attributed only to the gods as peculiar honours'. He is a man, not a god, and desires only the honours which a man can accept, for to accept more is to be vulgar, ostentatious, offensive: such is Claudius's principle, and it is this principle which on the whole determines his attitude to the single honours. He permits the city to keep his birthday as a *dies Augusta* and to erect statues to himself and other members of his family; characteristically he explains the latter concession by a reference to precedent: 'for I see that you have been zealous to establish on every side memorials of your loyalty towards my house'. His predecessors had accepted such honours; it cannot therefore be φορτικός for him to do the same. He further sanctions the introduction of a Claudian tribe—a valuable addition to our knowledge of tribe-nomenclature at Alexandria. The wording of this clause (φυλὴν Κλαυδιανὰν καταδεῖξαι) might seem to imply that a new tribe was to be created, but the renaming of an existing tribe seems likelier,[2] and the word καταδεῖξαι must not be pressed too far. As pointed out in the note *ad loc.*, no Claudian tribe is recorded elsewhere, and the known Philoclaudian tribe is perhaps, though not necessarily, to be taken as the form which the proposed φυλὴ Κλαυδιανά took or as the same tribe renamed under Nero. Permission is also given for the erection of equestrian statues of the 'procurator' Vitrasius Pollio (see l. 43, n.).

So far the honours accepted are all such as can easily be reconciled with the principle stated above; and the same principle inspired the refusal of a golden statue of the Pax Augusta Claudiana, which had actually been made, but which, despite the urgent entreaties of Barbillus, Claudius declines and orders to be dedicated to Roma. This is perhaps even an exaggeration of the principle, and

[1] For this subject see E. Beurlier, *Le culte impérial*, Paris, 1891; E. Kornemann, *Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte* (*Klio*, i, 51–146); and particularly F. Blumenthal, *Der ägyptische Kaiserkult* (*Archiv*, v, 317–45).

[2] For the renaming of tribes see Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, p. 147.

it is a little surprising to find Claudius speaking of it as φορτικώτερος, for it was hardly equivalent to the attribution of divine honours. Was his refusal inspired by a feeling that the cult of the Pax Augusta was inseparably associated with the memory of Augustus, and that it would be arrogance in a successor to add his name to the title? Kornemann in his valuable study of the Imperial cult speaks (*Klio*, i, 104) of Claudius as 'den von Augustus und Tiberius in so vielen Dingen abweichenden, dagegen auf die hellenistische Monarchie des Caesar zurückgehenden'. He adds in a foot-note: 'Den Beweis hierfür hoffe ich bei anderer Gelegenheit später zu erbringen', and it is of course possible that in the course of his reign Claudius's policy changed—there are facts of later date which might be adduced in support of Kornemann's theory;[1] but it certainly finds no confirmation in the present letter. Quite the contrary: it is to Augustus, not to Julius, who is never mentioned, that Claudius looks repeatedly, and though he never refers to Gaius, who did in truth abandon the policy of Augustus, his whole attitude seems to be a deliberate repudiation of his predecessor's point of view. Hence the suggestion made above acquires at least a certain plausibility.

The Pax Augusta Claudiana was, however, only one of two golden statues offered to Claudius. The other he accepts, but does not state what it represented; there is good reason for believing (l. 38, n.) that it may have been a statue of Messalina. He gives instructions that this statue is to be carried in procession as part of the celebrations on name-days, i. e. Imperial birthdays and the like.

So far the replies of Claudius are perfectly consistent with the principle laid down in the concluding words of this section of his letter; but there are two points on which, at first sight, his decision is less easy to understand. He permits the dedication of sacred groves for each nome of Egypt (ἄλση τὲ κατὰ νομὸν παρεῖναι τῆς Αἰγύπ⟨τ⟩ου) and the erection of four-horse chariots at the three entrances to Egypt, Taposiris, Pharos, and Pelusium. It is not, indeed, stated to whom the groves were to be dedicated, but the natural assumption, were this passage taken in isolation, would be that it was to Claudius himself, and in the case of the chariots the words ἀφιδρῦσαί μοι suggest a similar conclusion. It is conceivable that Claudius, offered a number of semi-divine honours and anxious not to appear ungracious by refusing too much, was not wholly logical in his choice; a certain inconsequence and incapacity for connected thinking were notoriously characteristic of him. But the letter as a whole is well constructed, and it is not perhaps necessary to resort to this hypothesis, especially as we have not the terms of the Alexandrian ψήφισμα. The groves may, as suggested in the note on l. 42, have been attached to the local Σεβαστεῖα, being dedicated to Divus Augustus *in honour of* Claudius, like the Amastris dedication quoted in the note on l. 35, ὑπὲρ τῆς Σεβαστῆς Εἰρήνης εἰς τὴν τειμὴν Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Γερμανικοῦ Σεβαστοῦ; and it does not seem impossible that ἀφιδρῦσαί μοι may have a similar sense.

Whatever be thought of this point—and it must be admitted that any sort

[1] See below, p. 7.

of dedication *to* rather than *for* Claudius would be difficult to reconcile with his principle—at least his general attitude is a conservative one, averse from anything like divine honours. In P. Ryl. ii, 133 (A.D. 33) we have a priest of Tiberius; yet Claudius definitely refuses an ἀρχιερεύς and a temple. The present letter was indeed written early in his reign, and he may, in face of an importunity which even this papyrus illustrates, have made further concessions later. We know definitely that a temple was dedicated to him during his lifetime at the colony of Camalodunum in Britain.[1] It must be remembered however that, as Tacitus hints, political motives were here operative. Claudius may well have yielded to real or supposed expediency, in a newly-conquered and remote portion of the Empire, what he would not yield in Alexandria, and still have retained, in essentials, the principle laid down in the present letter. A papyrus referred to in the note on l. 48 may indeed mention an ἀρχιερεύς of his cult, but the reading is doubtful, and as there pointed out the passage is more probably, even on other grounds, to be referred to Gaius. Blumenthal (*Archiv*, v, 322) inserts in his list of *Kaisertempel* one at Alexandria to Claudius; but the foundation mentioned by Suetonius to which he refers was primarily a literary institution, and it is very doubtful whether we can take it as in the proper sense a temple; still less are we justified on the evidence in regarding it as dedicated (in the full religious sense) to Claudius.[2] There is finally an inscription from Cys in Caria (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, xi, 1887, 307), datable in A.D. 52, to Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Γερμανικὸν Αὐτοκράτορα θεὸν Σεβαστόν, and another from Seleucia in Pisidia (I. G. Rom. iii, 328), to Τιβέριον Κλαύδιο[ν] Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸ[ν] Γερμανικὸν θεὸν ἐπιφανῆ, and we may add the νεωκόροι of Claudius (apparently) mentioned in the inscription from Aezani quoted in the note on l. 60; but these were of merely local significance, and we cannot even be certain, in the second and perhaps the first cases, that Imperial sanction was obtained. On the whole, likely as a certain relaxation of Claudius's principle in course of time may be, there is no sufficient evidence for regarding his reign as an epoch of marked development in the Imperial cult, with the possible exception of the temple in Britain.

The present papyrus does, however, show very clearly what steady pressure was maintained from the side of the provinces upon the Emperors to sanction extensions of the cult. The most striking example of this is seen in the prefect's edict. Ordering the publication of a letter in which Claudius definitely refuses divine honours, the Emperor's own representative calls on the people of Alexandria to

[1] Tacitus, *Ann.*, xiv, 31: 'templum divo Claudio constitutum quasi arx aeternae dominationis aspiciebatur'. This is mentioned under the year 61, but Seneca, *Apoc.* 8, shows that the temple was dedicated while Claudius was yet alive.

[2] Suetonius, 42 (Ihm, 1907): 'Denique et Graecas scripsit historias, Tyrrhenicon viginti, Carchedoniacon octo. Quarum causa veteri Alexandriae Musio additum ex ipsius nomine (novum); institutumque ut quotannis in altero Tyrrhenicon libri, in altero Carchedoniacon diebus statutis velut in auditorio recitarentur toti a singulis per vices'. The Latin is not very clear, but it hardly warrants Blumenthal's conclusion, and his statement that Claudius was himself responsible for the establishment is equally hazardous; all probability and analogy suggest that the impulse came from the Alexandrian side. It is apparently to this foundation that Athenaeus, vi, p. 240 b, refers: τοῖς ἐν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ (? Κλαυδιείῳ) νῦν σοφιστεύουσιν; cf. too H. Smilda, *Vita Divi Claudii*, p. 168. But even the word Κλαυδιεῖον should not be pressed as evidence for a cult of the living Claudius.

admire τὴν μεγαλειότητα τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν Καίσαρος. Blumenthal (*Archiv*, v, 328; cf. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 120) states that the living Emperor was not officially known as θεός, in Egypt any more than in other provinces, and that was true so far as the then known evidence went; but the present instance is a glaring exception. If the intentions of the Emperor were thus defeated by his own officials, we can see how inevitable, sooner or later, was the development of the cult into a real worship of the living ruler.

3. *The rights of the Alexandrines.*

After dealing with the honours voted him by the Alexandrines, Claudius turns to their requests, which, though placed second in the letter and doubtless in the agenda of the embassy, are not likely to have held that position in the minds of the citizens. It must be confessed that Claudius's answers to these points do not promise any very substantial addition to the rights and privileges of Alexandria.

He begins by confirming the Alexandrian citizenship, with all its τίμια καὶ φιλάνθρωπα,[1] to all those who had been ephebi up to his principate, exception being made in the case of children of slaves (we may suppose sons of citizens by servile mothers) who had wrongfully intruded themselves among the ephebi. These were of course not entitled to the citizenship; it is uncertain whether, among those confirmed, there were any not strictly entitled to it, and consequently how far the confirmation was a favour to the citizens. He also confirms all the privileges conceded to Alexandria by previous Emperors, kings, and prefects, 'as ivus Augustus also confirmed them'; but this, while it may have been of some value, did not amount to any improvement in the city's position.

The next clause, that relating to the *neocori* of Divus Augustus, falls properly under the previous section. It appears to be a mere matter of administrative detail, and it is not clear that any concession of much value is involved. The reduction (see ll. 62–6, n.) of the term of office for municipal magistracies to three years was granted in response to a definite request from the citizens and must therefore be taken as a favour conferred, but it is difficult to estimate the degree of benefit which the citizens would derive from it.

The really important point was, however, the last, the request of the Alexandrines for a senate; and on this point Claudius adopts a non-committal attitude. He announces that he has instructed the prefect to examine into the question and to report to him on the advisability of the change and, if the senate is conceded, on the best method of constituting it. Since we know that Alexandria did not obtain a senate till the reign of Septimius Severus,[2] we must conclude that the prefect's report was adverse. It is possible that this disappointment of

[1] See l. 55, n.

[2] Spartianus, *Vita Severi*, 17: 'Deinde Alexandrinis ius buleutarum dedit, qui sine publico consilio, ita ut sub regibus, ante vivebant, uno iudice contenti, quem Caesar dedisset.' Cf. Dio, li, 17, 3.

their hopes may have helped to provoke the renewed outbreak of anti-Semitism which is to be inferred from the 'Isidorus *Acta*' (see below, p. 19 f.).

That Alexandria possessed no senate under the earlier Roman Emperors was already well-known; what is subject of dispute is the question whether a senate existed under the Ptolemies, and on this point unfortunately Claudius was as ignorant as ourselves (ll. 66–7). The latest pronouncement on the problem is that of W. Schubart (*Ägypten von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf Mohammed*, pp. 32–3), who holds strongly that Alexandria had a senate in the Ptolemaic period, though previously[1] he preferred to leave it an open question, as also does Wilcken,[2] but with an inclination to decide against the *βουλή*. The ancient evidence is not conclusive, for though Spartianus clearly implies that there was no senate under the Ptolemies,[3] Dio[4] has usually been taken as implying that Augustus abolished a senate at Alexandria. The inference is, however, by no means justified; the words of Dio may merely mean that Augustus refused a senate,[5] and we may even conjecture that the Alexandrines took the opportunity of his amnesty and confirmation of privileges to ask for a senate, as they did later on Claudius's accession.[6] On this question at least the testimony of the present letter is, negatively, decisive. If Augustus had really abolished an existing senate, it is inconceivable that Claudius, who refers to his predecessor's confirmation of Alexandrian rights and of the privileges of the Jews (Josephus, *Ant.*, xix, 282 f.; l. 87), should have been or have professed to be ignorant of it.

It is nevertheless possible that, as Jouguet is inclined to think,[7] a senate had existed at an earlier period and had been abolished by one or other of the Ptolemies. In favour of this supposition may be adduced an inscription, very likely of the third century B.C., which implies a *βουλή* and which Plaumann[8] wished to refer to Alexandria; but the attribution, though Plaumann's arguments have considerable force, is by no means certain. On the other side may perhaps be set the evidence of the present letter. Claudius, a keen student of history (though there is no evidence that he had specially studied Egyptian affairs in the Ptolemaic period), knew (if we take his words literally) of no *βουλή* at Alexandria, and, what is more to the point, the Alexandrian envoys themselves do not seem to have submitted any conclusive evidence of its previous existence. Would they not have done so in the circumstances, had they possessed such evidence, as we know the Jews did for their privileges?[9] Prof. Rostovtzeff indeed

[1] *Klio*, x, 60 ff.

[2] *Grundzüge*, p. 15.

[3] The idea that the passage can be explained away is rightly rejected by Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, p. 28.

[4] li, 17, 2: *οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις βουλεύειν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφῆκεν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ὡς ἑκάστοις, τοῖς δ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἄνευ βουλευτῶν πολιτεύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε· τοσαύτην που νεωτεροποιίαν αὐτῶν κατέγνω.*

[5] Cf. too Jouguet, *l.c.*; Schubart, *Klio*, x, 60[2]; now particularly Jouguet, *Rev. égypt.*, n.s., i, 55 f.

[6] Cf. however **1912**, 68 f.: *καινοῦ δὲ πράγματος νῦν πρ⟨ῶ⟩τ⟨ο⟩ν καταβαλλομένου.*

[7] *Vie municipale*, p. 32 f. [8] *Klio*, xiii, 485–90.

[9] Josephus, *Ant.*, xix, 281.

(with whom Prof. Hunt is inclined to agree) would take Claudius's οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν as merely an evasion of the question ('I have nothing to say as to that point!') rather than a literal statement of fact, and he holds that the Alexandrines would hardly have asked for a senate except on the ground that they had once possessed one (perhaps till the reign of Philadelphus?). This may be true as regards the earlier period, but whatever may be thought of that point, it is very unlikely that Claudius would, even as an evasion, say οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν had Augustus actually abolished a senate. As to the earlier period we cannot argue from the negative result of the prefect's investigation; for if he discovered that the city had once possessed a βουλή and had later lost it, that very fact might decide him or Claudius against the concession.

4. *The Jewish question.*

The last section in the body of the letter, which deals with the question of anti-Semitism, is of special interest, and throws valuable light not only on the particular events referred to but incidentally on several disputed points.

The subject of the relations between the Jews of the Diaspora and the Graeco-Roman world in which they lived has been frequently discussed in recent years, but on more than one of the fundamental problems a generally accepted agreement has still to be reached. Unfortunately the discussion, in modern as in ancient times, has not always been free from racial or theological bias.[1]

The Jews formed an important element in the population of Alexandria from early times, perhaps even from the city's first foundation.[2] They occupied there the quarter known as 'Delta',[3] but in the time of Philo two quarters were predominantly Jewish, and not a few individual Jews or Jewish families were

[1] For the general history and condition of the Jews in the Roman Empire see E. Schürer, *Gesch. des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (3 vols., 3rd ed. 1898, 4th ed. 1901, 1909); J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain* (2 vols., Paris, 1914); Th. Reinach, *Judaei* (Daremberg-Saglio, vol. iii, pt. 1); for the question of anti-Semitism and the Jews of Alexandria in particular, F. Stähelin, *Der Antisemitismus des Altertums in seiner Entstehung u. Entwicklung* (Basel, 1905); A. Bludau, *Juden u. Judenverfolgungen im alten Alexandria* (Münster i. W., 1906); Wilcken, *Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus* (*Abh. Kön. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, lvii, 1909, 783–839) with the literature there referred to, and *Grundzüge*, 24–6, 62–5; P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine*, pp. 18–22; W. Schubart, *Archiv*, v, 118–20, and *Einführung* (see Index there); H. Willrich, in *Klio*, iii, 397–419; W. Weber, *Eine Gerichtsverhandlung vor Kaiser Traian* (*Hermes*, l, 47–92); A. v. Premerstein, *Alexandrinische und jüdische Gesandte vor Kaiser Hadrian* (*Hermes*, lvii, 266–316); A. N. Modona, *La vita pubblica e privata degli Ebrei in Egitto nell' età ellenistica e romana* (*Aegyptus*, ii, 253–75, iii, 19–43); B. Motzo, *La condizione giuridica dei Giudei di Alessandria sotto i Lagidi e i Romani* (*Atti d. R. Accad. d. Sc. di Torino*, xlviii, 1912–13, 577–98); see also H. Willrich, *Iudaica* (Göttingen, 1900). It was impossible to consult the recent article of M. Engers, *Die staatsrechtliche Stellung der alexandrinischen Juden* (*Klio*, xviii, 79–90) until this introduction had been completed, and it is therefore satisfactory to find that he comes to substantially the same conclusions regarding the evidence of Philo and Josephus as the present editor. Some references to his article have been added in foot-notes.

[2] Josephus, *c. Ap.*, ii, 35; *Bell. Iud.*, ii, 487. The doubts thrown by some modern scholars on Josephus's statements as to the early settlement of the Jews in Egypt are not supported by the papyrological evidence.

[3] Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, ii, 495.

living in other parts of the city.[1] As elsewhere in the ancient world, so also in Alexandria, the Jews were exposed to the hostility of their neighbours. This hostility was due to various causes. Economic factors were not without influence; for the Jews, besides being dangerous rivals in commerce, were not infrequently tax-farmers or farmers of the royal domains,[2] and many of them were persons of great wealth.[3] Even more powerful, however, were political and religious prejudice. Precluded by their religion from sharing in many of the activities of their fellow-townsmen, to whom the πόλις was above all things a religious community united by the common service of the ancestral gods, and yet enjoying special privileges of their own and favoured, not by the Ptolemies only but by many of the Hellenistic monarchs, as later by the Romans, the Jews were naturally objects of suspicion and dislike.[4] During the Ptolemaic period, indeed, we have no evidence of strictly anti-Semitic outbreaks, for the persecution attributed by the third book of *Maccabees* to Philopator, whatever kernel of fact it may contain, is too legendary in its details to serve as evidence, and the better-attested troubles under Euergetes II arose from reasons of Egyptian politics; but it seems clear that anti-Semitic feeling existed even then, and in the Roman period it led to open hostilities. Doubtless it was now accentuated by political causes. The Jews had deserted the national dynasty on the arrival of the Romans, and they received their reward in the confirmation of their privileges and in the special favour of the Emperors. But the Alexandrines, who saw their city degraded from a royal capital to a subordinate position under Imperial Rome, were constantly hostile to the Emperors,[5] and consequently hated their Jewish protégés the more bitterly. Moreover, the Jews, encouraged no doubt by the favours they had received, seem to have been aiming at yet further privileges, in particular at the full Alexandrian citizenship.

This raises one of the problems alluded to above, the question whether the Jews, as a community (as to individuals there is no dispute), possessed the citizenship. This is expressly asserted by Josephus and according to some scholars implied by Philo, but it is denied by many modern writers, such as Willrich, Bludau, Wilcken, Schubart, and Reinach. Schürer strongly maintains the affirmative point of view, and even Juster in his more recent work, rejecting the arguments of Wilcken and Schubart, takes the same standpoint.[6] Since the

[1] Philo, *In Fl.*, 8, 55 (M. 525); cf. id., *Leg.*, 20, 132 (M. 565): *τὰς προσευχάς— πολλαὶ δέ εἰσι καθ' ἕκαστον τμῆμα τῆς πόλεως.* Philo, *In Fl.*, 6, 43 (M. 523), estimates the total number of Jews in Alexandria and Egypt as not less than a million.

[2] Not however, apparently, to any great extent bankers or money-lenders, as we might expect; see Reinach, *Daremberg-Saglio*, p. 628, and cf. Wilcken, *Antisemitismus*, p. 788 f. There is only one instance in papyri of an imputation of usury against the Jews (Wilcken, *Chrest.* 60, A. D. 41), and this dates from a time when the anti-Semitic feeling was peculiarly intense.

[3] Cf. the case of the Alabarch Alexander ('dem alexandrinischen "Rothschild"', Bludau, p. 68). So too in the present letter (l. 94 f.) Claudius speaks of the Jews *ἀπολαύοντας . . . περιουσίας ἁπάντων ἀγαθῶν*, words in which we perhaps catch an echo of the envy felt by the Greeks for their wealthy enemies.

[4] According to Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, ii, 487, this hostility existed from the very first.

[5] Cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*[4], v, 582 f.

[6] So too (apparently) Modona, *Aegyptus*, ii, p. 265 f.

present letter contains new evidence on the point, it is necessary to examine the problem again.

The ancient authorities cited to support the view of Schürer and Juster are Philo and Josephus. The testimony of *Macc.* iii is on the other side; for the writer states in cap. 2, 28–30 that Philopator degraded the Jews *εἰς λαογραφίαν καὶ οἰκετικὴν διάθεσιν*, but ordered *ἐὰν δέ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν προαιρῶνται ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τελετὰς μεμνημένοις ἀναστρέφεσθαι, τούτους ἰσοπολίτας Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν εἶναι.* The implication is clearly that they did not already possess the citizenship.[1] The historical authority of *Macc.* iii is not high, but it is very unlikely that if, as Josephus asserts, the Jews had always enjoyed the citizenship an Alexandrian writer of the late Ptolemaic or early Roman period should make such a mistake.[2]

Before dealing with the evidence of Philo and Josephus, it will be well to notice the arguments adduced against the citizenship. Wilcken, following Schubart, cites a papyrus (BGU. 1140 = Wilcken, *Chrest.* 58) in which a Jewish petitioner is described as *Ἀλεξανδρέω(ς)*, but the word has been altered to *Ἰουδαίου τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρε(ίας)*. Clearly, then, argues Wilcken, there was a difference between the *Ἀλεξανδρεύς* or citizen and the *Ἰουδαῖος τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλ.* Schürer (iii⁴, 718) and Juster (ii, 9 f.) dispute this inference; the alteration, says the latter, is merely 'une meilleure détermination de la qualité du solliciteur'. This is however, if not impossible, at least a highly disputable assertion; for if the petitioner was an Alexandrian, what need was there to specify further? A citizen was a citizen, whatever his race.[3]

Again, the mention in BGU. 1151, 7 f., of *τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχείου* as compared with the *πολιτικὸν ἀρχεῖον* of BGU. 1131, 14, 22 shows that the Jews had a special notarial office distinct from that of the *πόλις*, and therefore points, as Wilcken remarks (*Grundzüge*, 63), to their forming a *πολίτευμα*, not a part of the body of citizens. It is, indeed, undisputed that they had their own organization, a genarch or ethnarch, a *γερουσία* (whereas Alexandria did not possess a senate), and their own judicial organization.[4] The practical inconvenience of such separate privi-

[1] Schürer's interpretation of the passage, that 'er beraubte die alexandrinischen Juden des Bürgerrechtes' (iii⁴, 489), is quite unjustifiable; the degradation *εἰς λαογραφίαν κτλ.* does not imply loss of citizenship but merely of the privileges which no one denies that they possessed.

[2] For the date of *Macc.* iii see, e. g., Bludau, pp. 62–6. It may be noted incidentally that the passage quoted may throw some light on the question. The book is unlikely to have been written at a time when the citizenship was a burning question, i. e. later than the middle of the first century, for the Jews were then asserting the fact of the citizenship.

[3] The petitioner's assertion that he was over the statutory age for poll-tax, which might seem conclusive, is not really so, owing to the mutilation of the document; for the argument may have run: 'I am an Alexandrine, the son of an Alexandrine, and *in any case* I am over-age'.

[4] Philo, *In Fl.*, 10, 74 (M. 527–8): *τῆς γὰρ ἡμετέρας γερουσίας, ἣν ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης Σεβαστὸς ἐπιμελησομένην τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν εἴλετο μετὰ τὴν τοῦ γενάρχου τελευτήν*; Strabo ap. Jos., *Ant.*, xiv, 117: *καθίσταται δὲ καὶ ἐθνάρχης αὐτῶν, ὃς διοικεῖ τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ διαιτᾷ κρίσεις καὶ συμβολαίων ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ προσταγμάτων, ὡς ἂν πολιτείας ἄρχων αὐτοτελοῦς.* It is not certain that, as Philo seems to imply, the *γερουσία* took the place of the ethnarch, for Claudius, in the letter quoted by Josephus (*Ant.*, xix, 280–5), says *τελευτήσαντος τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐθνάρχου τὸν Σεβαστὸν μὴ κεκωλυκέναι ἐθνάρχας γίγνεσθαι.* For the organization of the Jewish community at Alexandria see Schürer, iii⁴, 76–9; cf. Juster, i, 413–14.

leges, if the Jews possessed the full citizenship, is obvious; and though it is arguable that they were of necessity granted these privileges owing to their religious principles, the improbability is so great that without overwhelming evidence the theory can hardly be accepted.

Wilcken (*Antisemitismus*, p. 788), following Willrich, regards the existence of a Ghetto as an argument against citizenship (cf. too Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, p. 19); but this, though of some weight, is not conclusive, since the Jews, at least in Philo's time, were not confined to the Jewish quarter, nor was that quarter itself exclusively peopled by Jews.[1]

Lastly, Schubart (*Archiv*, v, 111–12) gives reasons (not perhaps conclusive) for supposing that the 'Macedonians' formed a special class, not possessing the Alexandrian citizenship. Now, Josephus states (*c. Ap.*, ii, 35; *Bell. Iud.*, ii, 488) that Alexander gave, and the Diadochi confirmed, to the Jews the right to be classed with the Macedonians, and there is papyrus evidence (Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, 63) which tends to confirm this, at least for certain Jews; hence, if Schubart's theory is sound, the Jews did not as such possess the citizenship.

We may now turn to the evidence of Philo. In his *In Fl.*, 8, 53 (M. 525) he says that Flaccus πάλιν ἐφ' ἕτερον ἐτρέπετο, τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας ἀναίρεσιν, ἵν' ἀποκοπέντων οἷς μόνοις ἐφώρμει ὁ ἡμέτερος βίος ἐθῶν τε πατρίων καὶ μετουσίας πολιτικῶν δικαίων τὰς ἐσχάτας ὑπομένωμεν συμφοράς, οὐδένος ἐπειλημμένοι πείσματος εἰς ἀσφάλειαν. ὀλίγαις γὰρ ὕστερον ἡμέραις τίθησι πρόγραμμα, δι' οὗ ξένους καὶ ἐπήλυδας ἡμᾶς ἀπεκάλει κτλ. This has been taken as evidence for the Alexandrian citizenship of the Jews, but it does not necessarily imply that. πολιτείας *may* mean 'citizenship' (M. 'ius civitatis'), but the passage of Strabo quoted above, p. 12, note 4, shows that it need not have that meaning.[2] Still less can the πολιτικὰ δίκαια be taken as proof. The Jews possessed very substantial rights, some of which (e. g. that in respect of scourging, Philo, *In Fl.*, 10, 78–9) they shared with the Alexandrines, and when Flaccus called them ξένοι he was not necessarily denying their right to be πολῖται. As Juster points out (ii, p. 1), the Jews who had not the right of domicile in a Greek πόλις were ξένοι but those who had it were πάροικοι.[3]

It is quite likely that in *Leg.*, 44, 349 (M. 597): μεταπεμφθέντες ἀγωνίσασθαι τὸν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἀγῶνα, Philo is using πολιτεία in a sense similar to that suggested above, viz. the rights of the Jews as a πολίτευμα, but it is not impossible that one of the objects of the embassy was to ask for the citizenship, for Philo seems to imply that favours were being asked.[4]

[1] This may be inferred from Philo, *In Fl.*, 8, 55 (M. 525): τούτων (i. e. the μοῖραι τῆς πόλεως) δύο Ἰουδαϊκαὶ λέγονται διὰ τὸ πλείστους Ἰουδαίους ἐν ταύταις κατοικεῖν.

[2] See the remarks of Engers (*Klio*, xviii, 84) on this point.

[3] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.*, xiv, 213: ἐνέτυχόν μοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐν Δήλῳ καί τινες τῶν παροίκων Ἰουδαίων. It may be added that it is at least possible that πολιτικός might be used of a πολίτευμα as well as of a πόλις; see, e. g., Schubart, *Einführung*, p. 280 f. For the πολιτεύματα see now Engers, *Klio*, xviii, 79 f. (cf. too p. 84[1]). On p. 83 Engers adduces a further argument from Philo, *In Fl.*, 20, 172 (M. 542) which seems conclusive; see too his discussion of the word κάτοικος, p. 83[4].

[4] *Leg.*, 28, 178 (M. 572): γραμματεῖον . . . κεφαλαιώδη τύπον περιέχον ὧν τε ἐπάθομεν καὶ ὧν τυχεῖν ἠξιοῦμεν; 183: τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ προνομίας οἴεσθαι τυγχάνειν.

In favour of the citizenship might be urged Philo's use of the word Ἀλεξανδρεύς: *In Fl.*, 10, 80 (M. 528): τῶν ἰδιωτῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων Ἰουδαίων; *Leg.*, 28, 183 (M. 572–3): ἀλλ' ἔοικε (Gaius) τῇ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀλεξανδρέων μερίδι προσκεῖσθαι; but the word was ambiguous, and though technically it meant an Alexandrian *citizen* it might also be used in a literary work to mean an inhabitant of Alexandria.

It will be seen that while these passages are quite consistent with the theory that the Jews possessed the citizenship, none of them compels us to accept it. On the other side may be set two passages which make in the opposite direction. In the *In Fl.*, 6, 43 (M. 523) Philo says ἡ πόλις οἰκήτορας ἔχει διττούς, ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τούτους, thus implying a contrast between the Alexandrines and the Jews; and later (10, 78–9, M. 528), after speaking of the Alexandrines' privilege as regards scourging, he adds τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων διετήρησαν οἱ πρὸ Φλάκκου. It would be absurd to press either passage, but their evidence must be set against that of the others.

That Josephus maintained the Jews to be citizens there is of course no dispute;[1] and he cites two authorities for his contention. One is a stele set up by Julius Caesar at Alexandria: Καῖσαρ Ἰούλιος τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίοις ποιήσας χαλκῆν στήλην ἐδήλωσεν ὅτι Ἀλεξανδρέων πολῖταί εἰσιν (*Ant.*, xiv, 188); so too *c. Ap.*, ii, 37, where, however, he speaks more vaguely: τὴν στήλην . . . τὰ δικαιώματα περιέχουσαν ἃ Καῖσαρ ὁ μέγας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔδωκεν. It is perhaps significant that he does not quote this stele verbally, whereas many of his documents are given in full. It is not necessary to accuse him, as Willrich seems inclined to do (*Klio*, iii, 405), of dishonesty; he may not have had a copy of the stele before him and have been speaking from memory; but in the circumstances it is impossible to treat this stele as very strong evidence, particularly as it is difficult to see what right Caesar had to give a decision concerning the Alexandrian citizenship (Willrich, *l. c.*).[2]

We are reduced then to the letter of Claudius quoted by Josephus in full in *Ant.*, xix, 280–5. But before considering that it is best to examine the evidence of the present letter, whose authenticity cannot be called in question. After deploring the στάσις, Claudius calls upon both parties to amend their ways, Ἀλεξανδρεῖς μὲν . . . καὶ Ἰουδαίοις δέ (ll. 82, 88). Could there be a clearer indication that in the eyes of Claudius the Jews were not Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, i.e. Alexandrian citizens? Lower down (l. 95) he speaks of the Jews as living ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει. This should be decisive. It is perhaps possible that their enemies, in a time of strained relations, should speak of Jewish citizens as aliens and as living ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει, but is it conceivable that the Emperor himself, in a letter carefully calculated to hold the balance even, should do the same?

Hardly less decisive is l. 92 f., where Claudius bids the Jews μηδὲ ἐπισπαίρειν γυμνασιαρχικοῖς ἢ κοσμητικοῖς ἀγῶσι. This apparently means (see note *ad loc.*) that they were not to take part in the athletic contests presided over by the gymnasiarch or cosmetes; but surely the Jews, if citizens, had as much right to

[1] See, e. g., *Bell. Iud.*, ii, 487–8; *Ant.*, xii, 121; *c. Ap.*, ii, 38.

[2] See now the ingenious (and perhaps correct) interpretation of this passage suggested by Engers, *Klio*, xviii, 90.

compete as any other citizens. Moreover, the gymnasiarch and cosmetes were the magistrates specially associated with the ephebi, and the ephebia was the necessary preliminary to citizenship (l. 53, n.); their mention here, therefore, seems clear proof that the Jews were not citizens.

At all events the total effect of the present letter is decisively to disprove the idea that the Jews possessed the citizenship; and the question arises how it is to be reconciled with that quoted by Josephus, which has been almost universally interpreted as implying the opposite.[1] The important words are: *ἐπιγνοὺς ἀνέκαθεν τοὺς ἐν* 'Αλεξανδρείᾳ 'Ιουδαίους, 'Αλεξανδρεῖς *λεγομένους, συγκατοικισθέντας τοῖς πρώτοις εὐθὺς καιροῖς* 'Αλεξανδρεῦσι *καὶ ἴσης πολιτείας παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τετευχότας, καθὼς φανερὸν ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν διαταγμάτων, καὶ μετὰ τὸ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἡγεμονίᾳ* 'Αλεξάνδρειαν *ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ὑποταχθῆναι, πεφυλάχθαι αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια ὑπὸ τῶν πεμφθέντων ἐπάρχων . . .* 'Αλεξανδρεῖς *δὲ ἐπαρθῆναι κατὰ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς* 'Ιουδαίων *. . . βούλομαι μηδὲν διὰ τὴν Γαΐου παραφροσύνην τῶν δικαίων τῷ* 'Ιουδαίων *ἔθνει παραπεπτωκέναι, φυλάσσεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ πρότερον δικαιώματα.*

If we accept both the authenticity and the current interpretation of this letter, we cannot escape the difficulty by supposing that Claudius at first thought the Jews to be citizens and later discovered his error or vice versa. It is clear that both letters were written early in Claudius's reign;[2] and the words in l. 87 f. of the present document, *ἅπερ καὶ ἐγὼ διακούσας ἀμφοτέρων ἐβεβαίωσα*, make it certain that Claudius had already issued a decree confirming the privileges of the Jews. The letter in Josephus, if genuine, must be the one referred to, and we cannot suppose a change of opinion on a fundamental point to be ignored in the present letter.

Thus we are driven to one of two explanations: either the Josephus letter is a forgery[3] (or a genuine letter worked up for propagandist purposes) or it does not mean what it is generally supposed to mean. Against the former supposition must be set the conclusion, with its exhortation to both parties, which not only recalls the attitude adopted by Claudius in the present document but seems very unlikely to proceed from a Jewish forger. The last remark applies even more strongly to Claudius's letter *εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην* (*Ant.*, xix, 286–91); and it will be admitted that the two must stand or fall together. At most therefore we must assume interpolation, an excessively hazardous proceeding in the case of a comparatively recent and well-known edict.

But is the letter in Josephus really inconsistent with the present one? In other words, is the current interpretation necessary? It is to be noticed that Claudius twice (§§ 281 and 284) distinguishes between the Jews and the 'Αλεξαν-

[1] Not, however, by Reinach, *Daremberg-Saglio*, iii, 627; cf. too the remarks of Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, p. 20, on *ἴσῃ τιμῇ*, &c.

[2] Josephus's narrative makes this certain for the letter which he quotes.

[3] E. von Dobschütz (*Am. Journ. of Theol.*, viii, 737[20]) speaks of this and its companion letter as being 'under strong suspicion of being fabrications' (cf. too A. Stein, *Untersuchungen*, p. 162; Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, p. 19[7]); but of the two references cited, Mommsen, *R(ömische) G(eschichte)*, v, p. 523 f., implicitly accepts the genuineness of the two letters, and that to Ranke, if it is to his *W(elt-) G(eschichte)*, iii, p. 97, is an error. Even Willrich, who is strongly against the Jewish claims, accepts the genuineness; he pronounces Claudius credulous and uncritical (*Klio*, iii, p. 404).

δρεῖς, and that he refers to the former as '*called* 'Αλεξανδρεῖς'. Why 'called', if they *were* 'Αλεξανδρεῖς in the technical sense?[1] Moreover, he does not say they were given the Alexandrian citizenship, merely that they had ἴσης πολιτείας. We are reminded of Strabo's remark, quoted above (p. 12, note 4), that the ethnarch had the powers of a πολιτείας ἄρχων αὐτοτελοῦς. The Jewish community was in fact a city, a πολιτεία, within a city, with powers practically equal (and in the possession of a γερουσία superior) to those of the Alexandrines. Thus there is no real necessity to interpret the Josephus letter as implying citizenship; its true interpretation, uncertain while it stood alone, is determined by the present papyrus.

That the Jews were agitating for the full citizenship may be inferred not only from the claims made by Josephus and perhaps from Philo (see above, p. 13) but from Claudius's words in the present letter (ll. 88–95); and it may be that resentment at their claims played its part in producing the great 'pogrom' under Gaius. Of that outbreak we have a very brief account in Josephus (*Ant.*, xviii, 257–9) and a detailed one in Philo's two treatises, *In Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium*, which are apparently parts of a longer but now imperfect work Περὶ ἀρετῶν.[2] More exactly, Philo gives two accounts, not quite consistent, but it is easy by combining the two to reconstruct the sequence of events. The narrative of Willrich (*Klio*, iii, 397–419) is prejudiced and one-sided, but on the other hand that of Philo is quite obviously an *ex parte* statement, and highly rhetorical in style. Philo's remark, in reply to a hypothetical objection that he has given too favourable an account of Flaccus as prefect, ἐπαινῶ τὸν Φλάκκον, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ προσῆκεν ἐχθρὸν ἐγκωμιάζειν, ἀλλ' ἵν' αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἀριδηλοτέραν παραστήσω (*In Fl.*, 2, 7, M. 518), shows a temper remote indeed from that of the historian.

The accepted reconstruction of the events, which is likely to be in the main correct, is as follows. In the summer of A. D. 38 Agrippa I, travelling to his new kingdom via Egypt, arrived at Alexandria. According to Philo he was careful to enter the city as unobtrusively as possible, but the statement is difficult to reconcile either with what we know of his character or with subsequent events; and in any case we may assume that his compatriots, delighted at the arrival of a Jewish king, high in the Emperor's favour, did not allow the event to pass without a public manifestation of their enthusiasm. The Greek populace, annoyed, we may assume, by the jubilations of their rivals, dressed up in mock-royal state a well-known idiot of the town, surrounded him with a guard of make-belief soldiers, and paraded him through the streets with cries of *Marin*, *Marin*, a Syrian word for 'king'.

The insult, to a personal friend of Gaius, was daring; and it was doubtless a desire to escape the consequences which led the Alexandrines to raise a demand for the placing of the Emperor's images in the synagogues. Flaccus, whose

[1] Motzo, *Atti R. Acc. Tor.*, xlviii, 583 ff., advances a theory that 'Αλεξανδρεῖς has a technical sense; there were 'Αλεξανδρεῖς 'Ιουδαῖοι, enjoying the inferior grade of citizenship, i. e. not members of demes, and 'Ιουδαῖοι, who lacked the citizenship altogether. This is ingenious but not very likely.

[2] Juster (i, p. 6), following L. Massebieau, *Le classement des œuvres de Philon* (*Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, i), pp. 65–78, denies this, but Massebieau's arguments do not seem conclusive.

position, as an enemy of Agrippina and a partisan of Tiberius Gemellus, was very precarious, could not safely oppose this, whatever his own sentiments may have been; and when he published an edict declaring the Jews aliens and intruders the mob saw that they were secure. The result was a regular campaign of terrorism. The Jews were driven from the other parts of the city into the 'Delta' quarter, over 400 houses being sacked; many of them were murdered or beaten, and innumerable insults and outrages were heaped upon the survivors. There may well be some exaggeration in Philo's narrative, but Willrich goes too far in minimizing the sufferings of the Jews,[1] the extent of which may be inferred from Claudius's remarks in the present letter.

If the Jews hoped for redress from Flaccus, they were soon undeceived. He took up an attitude of strong hostility, and even had a number of their elders scourged; with what, if any, justification, it is impossible to say in the absence of any check on Philo's prejudiced narrative. However, he was not long in a position to control the situation; at the following Feast of Tabernacles, in the autumn of 38, he was arrested and banished to Andros. The Jews, having obtained permission to lay their case before the Emperor, sent an embassy to Rome, probably in the late autumn or early winter of the same year.[2] This was the embassy whose fortunes are so graphically described by Philo in his *Legatio ad Gaium*. Josephus[3] states that both sides sent an embassy, each consisting of three persons, Philo being at the head of the Jews and Apion being one, probably the leader, of the Alexandrines; but Philo gives the number of the Jewish delegates as five;[4] and on such a point his authority is conclusive.

Philo unfortunately, in the present state of his work, gives no information as to the ultimate issue, but the account in Josephus shows that the Jews got no satisfaction. Of events in Alexandria between the date of the embassy and the accession of Claudius we know nothing, but at that point we have a brief but valuable reference in Josephus (*Ant.*, xix, 278): *στασιάζεται δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Ἰουδαίων τὰ πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως. τελευτήσαντος γὰρ τοῦ Γαΐου τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος . . . ἀνεθάρρησε καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις εὐθέως ἦν.* It is clear from this that the Jews were on this occasion the aggressors. Our letter adds a further detail. In l. 96 f. Claudius warns them *μηδὲ ἐπάγεσθαι ἢ προσίεσθαι ἀπὸ Συρίας ἢ Αἰγύπτου καταπλέοντας Ἰουδαίους.* The injunction could have point only if this had already occurred; and since there can be no question of such a step being taken during the *στάσις* under Gaius, which was sudden and unpremeditated, we are probably justified in concluding that the reference is to the events at the beginning of

[1] *Klio*, iii, p. 407[4]. Josephus's reference is too brief to be set against Philo's. Willrich's prejudice is shown in his remarks about the arms. Had the Jews no opportunity to procure arms between the summer of 38 and the accession of Claudius in January, 41? That they had prepared for revenge may perhaps be inferred from the present letter; see below.

[2] See Willrich, *Klio*, iii, p. 410[1]; Bludau, p. 81 f., against Schürer, who dates the embassy in the winter of A. D. 39–40. In favour of the earlier date is perhaps the present letter, which shows that on this occasion the two parties lost no time in laying their case before Claudius; but this is not conclusive, since the primary objects of these embassies was to congratulate the new Emperor on his accession.

[3] *Ant.*, xviii, 257–9.

[4] *Leg.*, 46, 370 (M. 600).

Claudius's reign. It may be assumed that the Jews, not merely from a desire for revenge but because they must have felt their position very insecure, had been making secret preparations for armed resistance, and they may conceivably have planned a rising even before the news of Gaius's death reached them; but this is not a necessary supposition. If we suppose the news to have arrived at Alexandria by about the middle of February,[1] this allows time for the Jews to send to their compatriots in Egypt and Syria, to be joined by them, to attack the Alexandrines, and for both parties to send embassies to Rome by the early summer. But they may equally well have risen on the first receipt of the news and have received assistance later, in the course of the perhaps protracted disturbances.

The question arises whether Claudius is referring to this affair only or to the whole sequence of events, beginning with the massacre under Gaius. In favour of the first supposition is the word *πάλιν* in l. 78, which indicates a resumption of hostilities; but two other considerations make rather in favour of the latter supposition. Claudius says that he does not know which side was responsible for the *στάσις*. As, on Josephus's own showing, the Jews were the aggressors in the affair under Claudius, this suggests that the reference is not merely to this, but to the state of hostility which had no doubt continued ever since A. D. 38. Again, reprimanding the Jews for sending a separate embassy, 'as if they lived in two cities', he adds, 'a thing such as never occurred before now'. He must have known of Philo's embassy, not three years earlier; but the clause has a justification if he was thinking of the whole series of events. It might perhaps be suggested, indeed, that the delegation sent in 38–9 had remained in Rome ever since; but against this must be set the fact that the Alexandrian embassy which inspired the present letter was certainly distinct from that sent to Gaius. The delegates numbered eleven (l. 19, n.), whereas Josephus gives the number on the previous occasion as three, and the name of Apion does not appear among them; moreover, they were clearly sent primarily to congratulate Claudius on his accession. It is not possible to suppose that the Jews omitted to send a counter-embassy, especially if a *στάσις*, in which they had been the aggressors, had just occurred.

If *πάλιν* does make it necessary to prefer the first supposition (and of course we do not know that the outbreak under Gaius was the first) we can only suppose that the guilt of the Jews in the new disturbance was not so clear to Claudius as to Josephus's authority; and the statement as to the embassy must be taken loosely, as referring to the whole period, whereas *τῶν πάλιν ἀρξαμένων* refers only to the recent outbreak.

Claudius, in reply to the representations of both parties, assumes an attitude

[1] For the speed of communication in the Roman Empire see, e. g., Wilcken, *Z. d. Sav.-St.*, xlii, pp. 146–7. He allows for the journey from Rome to Alexandria 9–10 days 'unter den allergünstigsten Umständen', by the sea-route. Every effort would doubtless be made to send speedy news of Claudius's accession to so important a province as Egypt, but it occurred in January, and though the sea-route was used even in winter (W. Riepl, *Das Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums*, 1913, p. 225; to his references may be added Philo, *Leg.*, 29, 190, M. 573) we should allow at least a fortnight and probably more for the journey at that season.

of strict impartiality. He reprimands, in measured terms, the intolerance of the Alexandrines towards their Jewish neighbours, and confirms all the privileges of the latter; but on the other hand he refuses to enlarge these privileges and, if the Jews continue to cause disturbances, threatens them with punishment in language of unexpected sharpness. It is clear that the Alexandrines had no right to accuse him of unfair preference for the Jews; and if, in the well-known 'Isidorus *Acta*', he appears, like other Emperors, in a rôle distinctly hostile to the Alexandrian envoys, we are probably justified in concluding that he regarded the Greeks as more to blame than the Jews.[1]

This brings us, in conclusion, to the problem of the date of the *Acta* referred to. They are contained on a papyrus preserved partly at Berlin (BGU. 511) and partly at Cairo (P. Cairo 10448). The whole text, which is one of the most interesting examples of the Alexandrian propagandist literature known as 'Heathen Acts of the Martyrs', was re-edited in an improved form by Wilcken in his *Antisemitismus*, pp. 800–6, and again as *Chrest.* 14. The papyrus contains a record of a trial by the Emperor Claudius of a suit, arising out of an anti-Semitic στάσις, brought by Isidorus, the gymnasiarch of Alexandria, against King Agrippa. It was earlier inferred from one passage that a rival Jewish deputation was present, but Wilcken's revised text removes the necessity for the assumption, though on other grounds it is likely enough that a Jewish embassy would figure in the case.

Wilcken originally concluded, from the presence of the Empress and from the fact that the sitting took place, according to his restoration, in the Lucullian Gardens (which did not pass into the Imperial possession before about 47–8), that the date was 53;[2] hence the Jewish king was Agrippa II. Reinach, however, pointing out that Σερουι]λιανοῖς could be read as easily as Λουκουλ]λιανοῖς, and that close relations with Alexandria are attested for Agrippa I but not for Agrippa II, preferred a date in Claudius's first year, i.e. in 41.[3] Wilcken, however, still adheres to his former view, and the question can now be reconsidered in the light of the present letter.

At first sight our letter would seem to strengthen Reinach's case. We now have evidence, additional to that of Josephus, for anti-Semitic disturbances at the beginning of Claudius's reign, and, what is more important, evidence that Jews of Syria were concerned in them. What more natural than that Agrippa should have intervened to assist the community he had helped in the past; or that, if he did not, the Alexandrines should suspect his agency in the arrival of Syrian Jews at Alexandria? A chronological argument may also be invoked. The first day of the session recorded in *Chrest.* 14 was Pachon 5 (= April 30). The proclamation of Rectus ordering the exhibition of the present letter was dated Neos Sebastos 14 (= Nov. 10). This suits very well with the supposition that the case on which Claudius here writes to the Alexandrines was decided in May.

A moment's reflection will, however, show the improbability of this sugges-

[1] That he was not in general unfairly partial to the Jews is shown by his expulsion of them from Rome (Suetonius, 25; *Acts*, xviii, 2; cf. Dio, lx, 6, 6).

[2] *Hermes*, xxx, p. 489.

[3] *Rev. d. ét. juives*, xxxiv, pp. 296–8.

tion. In Col. i of the 'Isidorus *Acta*' the 'ambassadors (πρέσβεις) of the Alexandrines' are referred to; and it is to be presumed that the Isidorus and Lampon who occur in Cols. ii and iii were among them; yet neither name appears among the ambassadors mentioned in the present letter. It might indeed be suggested that the delegates sent to Gaius had remained in Rome continuously since then, that Isidorus and Lampon were two of their number, and that the embassy mentioned in the present letter was quite distinct; or that (since Isidorus is described as gymnasiarch, not ex-gymnasiarch, and could therefore hardly have been in Rome continuously since 38–9) two embassies, one to congratulate Claudius on his accession and one to conduct the case against Agrippa, were sent in 41; or, lastly, that the πρέσβεις of Col. i are those of the present letter and that Isidorus and Lampon are not to be regarded as πρέσβεις.[1] Any one of these explanations is possible, though none is likely; but there is a further consideration, which seems decisive. In the Berlin-Cairo papyrus Isidorus (gymnasiarch of Alexandria!) and Lampon are condemned to death; and P. Oxy. 33 (= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 20), iv, 5 f., shows that the sentence was actually carried out. Is it conceivable that within a few weeks of the execution of one of the highest municipal magistrates,[2] in consequence of an adverse decision in a case between the city and Agrippa concerning anti-Jewish disorders, Claudius should be writing to Alexandria in friendly terms, should make no allusion to an event so calculated to excite the citizens to bitter resentment, and should even say that he did not know on which side rested the guilt of the disturbances? The improbability is so overwhelming as to outweigh all the arguments on the other side. Moreover, the considerations adduced by Wilcken still hold good. We know that the Lucullian Gardens were not in Imperial possession in 41; we at least do not know that the Servilian were. We know that the rôle played in the Berlin-Cairo papyrus by the Empress suits Agrippina[3] but not Messalina;[4] and, finally, though we have no such record of relations between Agrippa II and Alexandria as we have concerning Agrippa I, yet we know from Josephus that he had influence with Agrippina, which he used in favour of the Jews.[5] When we remember, finally, that in the present letter Claudius threatens, in case of further disturbances, to show 'what a benevolent prince can be when turned to just indignation', and that, on the other hand, he confirmed the Jews in all their privileges and restored that liberty of worship

[1] Against this, however, is the occurrence, in a mutilated passage of Col. iii, of the word πρέσβεα.

[2] Against the older view that the gymnasiarch stood at the head of the municipal magistrates see Grenfell and Hunt's note on P. Oxy. xii, 1412, 1–3. They incline to place the gymnasiarch fourth, the hypomnematographus, archidicastes, and presbeutes being the first three.

[3] Tacitus, *Ann.*, xii, 37: 'Atque illi . . . Agrippinam quoque, haud procul alio suggestu conspicuam, isdem, quibus principem, laudibus gratibusque venerati sunt. *Novum sane et moribus veterum insolitum*, feminam signis Romanis praesidere: ipsa semet parti a maioribus suis imperii sociam ferebat'; Dio, lx, 33, 7: ἡ δὲ Ἀγριππῖνα καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις αὐτῷ καὶ χρηματίζοντι καὶ πρεσβείας ἀκροωμένῳ παρῆν, ἐπὶ βήματος ἰδίου καθημένη. καὶ ἦν καὶ τοῦτο οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον θέαμα.

[4] Note that both Tacitus and Dio emphasize the novelty of the practice.

[5] Josephus, *Ant.*, xx, 135.

disturbed under Gaius, we can well understand that the Alexandrines may later have renewed their anti-Jewish atrocities and that on that occasion Claudius showed less hesitation in apportioning the blame.

5. *The character and policy of Claudius.*

Apart from its evidence on the matters already discussed, the letter is of considerable interest for the light which it throws on the personality of Claudius and the character of his government. Before, however, we can consider it from this point of view, it is necessary to inquire how far it can be regarded as his work. The general efficiency of his administration, which, despite certain abuses, due to the greed and corruption of Messalina and the freedmen,[1] cannot be disputed, is frequently attributed, at least in part, to the influence of the latter rather than to Claudius himself; but on the other hand it is certain that he took an active part in the details of government, particularly in the administration of justice[2] and in the duties of the censor's office,[3] and the general lines of policy are so much in agreement with all we know of his personality and point of view as to make it difficult to suppose that he was not largely responsible. The present letter can therefore hardly fail to be the result of his personal intervention. It was addressed to the second city of the Empire; it concerned, among other matters, a vote of divine honours to himself and the feuds of the Greeks and Jews, two questions in which he was specially concerned, and the request of the Alexandrines for a senate, an important point of state policy; and the second of these questions involved something in the matter of a judicial decision, always very attractive to Claudius.

It may, therefore, be regarded as certain that Claudius was himself directly responsible for the decisions here announced, though he may doubtless have taken advice; but it does not therefore follow that the actual wording of the letter can be attributed to him. *A priori*, it seems improbable that he himself wrote out the rough draft and not likely that he dictated it, nor does it show any of that inconsequence and irrelevant pedantry which distinguished him, and which are so apparent in his famous speech on the grant of the *ius honorum* to the Gauls.[4] On the other hand there are some very characteristic touches. The wording of his reference to the testimony of Germanicus,[5] the personal note in his acceptance of honours,[6] the appeal to antiquity to support his refusal of an ἀρχιερεύς and temples,[7] the tone of his exhortations to the Alexandrines and Jews,[8] and lastly the sudden and unexpected outburst against the latter[9]—all these passages seem clearly to betray the hand of Claudius himself rather than of an amanuensis; and

[1] Cf., e. g., Dio, lx, 8, 4.
[2] Suetonius, 14; Dio, lx, 4, 3 f., 5, 7; Seneca, *Apoc.*, 7, 4 f., 12, 2, vv. 43–5.
[3] Suetonius, 16. Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.*, xi, 13.
[4] Dessau, 212.
[5] l. 25 f., ὧν εἶνα τὸ τελευταῖον εἴπωι παρεὶς τὰ ἄλλα κτλ.
[6] l. 29, καίπερ οὐκ ὢν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥάιδιος.
[7] ll. 50–1. [8] ll. 79–82. [9] ll. 98–100.

we are probably justified in concluding that the letter represents in all points the personal decisions of the Emperor, that it was drafted in accordance with definite instructions from him, and that he may very likely have introduced, either into the original draft or at a later stage, certain interpolations of his own.

The character of Claudius was a curious mixture, and included traits which made him, alike to contemporaries and to posterity, somewhat of a 'figure of fun'; but it is clear that his natural endowment, till illness and neglect had adversely affected him, was good, and to the end one must recognize in him a solid base of character and commonsense. His intentions as Emperor were unquestionably good, and his reign showed none of those aberrations or that progress towards megalomania which have made the names of Caligula and Nero infamous. That he was pedantic, timid, wanting in consistency and concentration, with little self-control, must be admitted; but W. Weber goes too far in calling him merely 'schwachsinnig'.[1] The present letter brings evidence of some value on this point. For the actual arrangement of the matter, which is clear and logical enough, Claudius himself may not have been responsible, but the decisions themselves, which, as we have seen, there is every reason for attributing to him, betray no trace whatever of any weakness of intellect. On the question of the honours voted him he shows on the whole[2] a consistent and, what is more, a reasonable point of view, obviously disliking such honours, yet careful not to offend the Alexandrines by adopting a too unaccommodating attitude. His decisions on the requests made to him are reasonable and well-grounded; in regard to the senate in particular he shows a statesmanlike caution, neither acceding to the request nor rebuffing the petitioners by a definite refusal. Finally, on the question of the Jews he holds the scales even between the two parties and preserves throughout a perfectly judicial attitude. From this letter one would never suspect that Claudius was 'weak-minded'.

The letter is of importance, however, not only from the point of view of Claudius's character but also from that of his public policy. As already said (above, p. 6), Kornemann regards Claudius as returning in many respects to the Hellenistic monarchy of Julius Caesar, in reaction against the policy of Augustus and Tiberius, but there is nothing in our letter to confirm this. Julius himself and Gaius, who did, in his unbalanced way, return to the Hellenistic monarchy, are never referred to, and it is to Augustus that Claudius appeals when he finds it necessary to rely on precedent. Moreover, his whole attitude is rather that of Augustus and Tiberius than that of the Hellenistic sovereigns. At the beginning of his reign certainly he was a Roman *princeps*,[3] not a Hellenistic βασιλεύς; and it seems very doubtful whether in essentials he abandoned that standpoint at a later time. That his reign did mark an epoch in the history of the principate, that, for example, the development of the secretariat, under the Imperial freedmen, into great offices of state[4] was a notable step forwards in the direction of autocracy—these and similar facts cannot be disputed; but developments of this

[1] *Hermes*, l, 59[1].
[2] For a possible exception see above, p. 6.
[3] Note that he twice (ll. 58, 81) uses the word ἡγεμών (= *princeps*); cf. too l. 54.
[4] See, e.g., Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, 472 ff.

kind were inevitable if the principate was to function satisfactorily at all, and such administrative evolution cannot fairly be taken as marking any break, in principle, with the policy of Augustus.

Col. 1.]

Λούκιος Αἰμίλλιος Ῥῆκτος λέγει·
ἐπειδὴ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς ἱεροτάτης
καὶ εὐεργετικωτάτης ἰς τὴν πόλειν
ἐπιστολῆς πᾶσα ἡ πόλεις παρατυχεῖν
οὐκ ἠδυνήθη{ν} διὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῆς,
ἀνανκαῖον ἡγησάμην ἐκθεῖναι
τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἵνα κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον
ἀναγεινόσκων αὐτὴν τήν τε μεγαλιότητα
τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν Καίσαρος θαυμάσητε
καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν πόλειν [[ομοια]] εὐνοίᾳ
χάριν ἔχητε. (*Ἔτους*) *β Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου*
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος,
μηνὸς Νέου Σεβαστο(ῦ) ιδ.

Col. 2.]

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Αὐτοκράτωρ ἀρχ{ι}ιερεὺς
μέγειστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὕπατος ἀποδεδιγμένος Ἀλεξανδρέων
τῇ πόλει χαίρειν. Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Βάρβιλλος, Ἀπολλώνις Ἀρτεμιδώρου,
Χαιρήμων Λεονίδου, Μᾶρκος Ἰούλιος Ἀσκληπιάδης, Γάιος Ἰούλιος Διονύσιο(ς),
Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Φανίας, Πασίων Ποτάμωνος, Διονύσιος Σαββίωνος,
Τιβέριος Κλαύδις Ἀπολλώνις Ἀρίστονος, Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἀπολλώνιος,
Ἑρμαίσκος
Ἀπολλωνίου, ὑ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, ἀναδόντες μοι τὸ ψήφισμα πολλὰ περὶ
τῆς πόλεως διεξῆλθον, ὑπαγόμενοί μοι δῆλον πρὸς τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς
εὔνοιαν ἣν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων, εὖ εἴστε, παρ' ἐμοὶ τεταμιευμένην ε .
εἴχεται, φύσει μὲν εὐσεβεῖς περὶ τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς ὑπάρχοντες, ὡς
ἐκ πολλῶν μοι γέγονε γνόριμον, ἐξερέτως δὲ περὶ τὸν ἐμὸν
οἶκον καὶ σπουδάσαντες καὶ σπουδασθέντος, ὧν εἶνα τὸ τελευ-
ταῖον εἶπωι παρεὶς τὰ ἄλλα μέγειστός ἐστιν μάρτυς οὖμος ἀδελφὸς
Γερμανικὸς Καῖσαρ γνησιωτέραις ὑμᾶς φωναῖς προσαγορεύσας·
διόπερ ἡδέως προσεδεξάμην τὰς δοθείσας ὑφ' ἡμῶν μοι τιμὰς
καίπερ οὐκ ὢν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα {ρ} ῥάιδιος. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν Σεβαστὴν
ὑμεῖν ἄγειν ἐπιτρέπωι τὴν ἐμὴν γενεθλείαν ὃν τρόπον αὐτοὶ προ-
είρησθαι, τὰς τὲ εκατασ᾽σταχου τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἀναστάσεις
ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ γένους μου ποιήσασθε συνχωρῶι· ἐγὼ ὁρῶι γὰρ
⟨ὅτι⟩ πάντη μνημεῖα τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας εἰς τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον

ὑδρύσασθαι ⟨ἐ⟩σπουδάσαται. Τῶν δὲ δυοῖν χρυ[σῶ]ν ἀνδριάντων
ὁ μὲν Κλαυδιανῆς Εἰρήνης Σεβαστῆς γενό[με]νος ὥσπερ ὑπέθετο
καὶ προσελειπάρη[σ]εν ὁ ἐμοὶ τιμ[ι]ώτατος Βάρβιλλος ἀρνουμένου
μου διὰ τὸ φορτικότε[ρο]ς δ[οκ]εῖ[ν,] ἐπεὶ Ῥώμης ἀνατεθήσεται,

Col. 3.]

ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ὃν τρόπον ὑμεῖς ἀξιοῦτε πομπεύσει ταῖς ἐπονύμαις
ἡμέραις παρ' ὑμῖν· συνπομπευέτωι δὲ [[και αυ]] αὐτῶι καὶ δίφρος
ᾧ βούλεσθαι κόσμωι ἠσκημένος. Εὐῆθες δ' ἴσ{σ}ως τοσαύτας
προσ[ι]έμενον τειμὰς ἀρνήσασθαι φυλὴν Κλαυδιανὰν καταδῖξαι
ἄλση τὲ κατὰ νομὸν παρεῖναι τῆς Αἰγύπ⟨τ⟩ου· διόπερ καὶ ταῦτά [[ημιν]]
θ' ὑμεῖν ἐπιτρέπωι, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθαι καὶ Οὐειτρασίου Πωλείωνος
τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐπιτρόπου τοὺς ἐφίππους ἀνδριάντας ἀναστήσατε. Τῶν δὲ
τετραπώλων ἀναστάσε[ι]ς ⟨ἃς περὶ τὰς εἰσ⟩βολὰς τῆς χώρας ἀφιδρῦσέ
μοι βούλεσθαι
συνχωρῶι τὸ μὲν περὶ τὴν Ταπόσιριν καλουμένην τῆς Λιβύης
τὸ δὲ περὶ Φάρον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τρίτον δὲ περὶ Πηλούσιον
τῆς Αἰγύπ⟨τ⟩ου στῆσαι, ἀρχ{ι}ιερέα δ' ἐμὸν καὶ ναῶν κατασκευὰς
παρετοῦμε, οὔτε φορτικὸς τοῖς κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρόποις
βουλόμενος εἶναι τὰ ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μόνοις τοῖς θεοῖς
ἐξέρετα ὑπὸ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἀποδεδόσθαι κρίν[ω]ν.
Περὶ δὲ τῶν αἰτηθέντων ἃ παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν ἐσπουδάκα-
τε οὕτως γεινώσκωι· ἅπασι τοῖς ἐφηβευκώσει ἄχρει τῆς
ἐμῆς ἡγεμονείας βαί[[βον]]βαιον διαφυλάσσωι τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων
πολειτείαν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως τειμείοις καὶ φιλανθρόποις
πᾶσει πλὴν εἰ μή τινες ὑπῆλθον ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐγ δούλων
γ[ε]γονότες ἐφηβεῦσαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ οὐχ ἧσσον εἶναι βούλομε
βέβαια πάνθ' ὅσα ὑμεῖν ἐχαρίσθη ὑπό τε τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνων
καὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων, ὡς καὶ [ὁ] θεὸς Σεβαστὸς ἐβεβαίωσε.

Col. 4.]

Τοὺς δὲ νεοκόρους τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ναοῦ ὅς ἐστιν τοῦ θεοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ κληροτοὺς εἶναι βούλομε καθὰ καὶ ὁ ἐν Κανόπωι
τοῦ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ κληροῦνται. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ τὰς πολει-
τεικὰς ἀρχὰς τριετῖς εἶναι καὶ πάν⟨υ⟩ ἐμοὶ [[υ]] καλῶς βεβουλεῦσθαι
δοκεῖται, ὑ γὰρ ⟨ἄρ⟩χοντες φώβωι τοῦ δώσειν εὐθύνας ὧν κακῶς
ἦρξαν μετριώτεροι ἡμεῖν προσενέκθησονται τὸν ἐν ταῖς
ἀρχαῖς χρόνον. Περὶ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ὅ τι μέν ποτε σύνηθες
ὑμεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων οὐκ ἔχωι λέγειν, ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν
πρὸ ἐμοῦ Σεβαστῶν οὐκ εἴχεται σαφῶς οἴδατε. Καινοῦ δὴ
πράγματος νῦν πρῶτον καταβαλλομένου ὅπερ ἄδηλον εἰ συνοί-

σει τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πράγμασει ἔγραψα Αἰμιλλίωι Ῥήκτωι
διασκέψασθαι καὶ δηλῶσέ μοι εἴ ται καὶ συνείστασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν δεῖ,
τόν τε τρόπον, εἴπερ ἄρα συνάγειν δέν, καθ' ὃν γενήσεται τοῦτο.
Τῆς δὲ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ταραχῆς καὶ στάσεως μᾶλλον δ' εἰ χρὴ τὸ ἀληθὲς
εἰπεῖν τοῦ πολέμου πότεροι μὲν αἴτιοι κατέστησαν καίπερ
ἐξ ἀντικαταστάσεως πολλὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων πρέσβεων
φιλοτειμηθέντων καὶ μάλιστα Διονυσίου τοῦ Θέων[ο]ς ὅμως
οὐκ ἐβουλήθην ἀκριβῶς ἐξελένξαι, ταμιευόμενος ἐμαυτῶι
κατὰ τῶν πάλειν ἀρξαμένων ὀργὴν ἀμεταμέλητον·
ἁπλῶς δὲ προσαγορεύωι ὅτι ἂν μὴ καταπαύσηται τὴν ὀλέ-
θριον ὀργὴν ταύτην κατ' ἀλλήλων αὐθάδιον ἐγβιασθήσομαι
δίξαι ὑόν ἐστιν ἡγεμὼν φιλάνθροπος εἰς ὀργὴν δικαίαν μεταβεβλη-
μένος. Διόπερ ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμαρτύρομε εἶνα Ἀλεξανδρεῖς μὲν
πραέως καὶ φιλανθρόπως προσφέροντε Ἰουδαίο(ι)ς τοῖς
τὴν αὐτὴν πόλειν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων οἰκοῦσει

Col. 5.]

καὶ μηδὲν τῶν πρὸς θρησκείαν αὐτοῖς νενομισμένων
τοῦ θεοῦ λοιμένωνται ἀλλὰ ἐῶσιν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἔθεσιν
χρῆσθαι ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, ἅπερ καὶ ἐγὼι
διακούσας ἀμφοτέρων ἐβεβαίωσα· καὶ Ἰουδέοις δὲ
ἄντικρυς κελεύωι μηδὲν πλήωι ὧν πρότερον
ἔσχον περιεργάζεσθαι μηδὲ ὥσπερ ἐν δυσεὶ πόλεσειν κα-
τοικοῦντας δύο πρεσβείας ἐκπέμπειν τοῦ λοιποῦ,
ὧ μὴ πρότερόν ποτε ἐπράκθη, μηδὲ ἐπισπαίρειν
γυμνασιαρχικοῖς ἢ κοσμητικοῖς ἀγῶσει,
καρπουμένους μὲν τὰ οἰκῖα ἀπολάοντας δὲ
ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει περιουσίας ἁπάντων ἀγαθῶν,
μηδὲ ἐπάγεσθαι ἢ προσείεσθαι ἀπὸ Συρίας ἢ Αἰγύπ(τ)ου
καταπλέοντας Ἰουδαίους ἐξ οὗ μείζονας ὑπονοίας
ἀνανκασθήσομε λαμβάνειν· εἰ δὲ μή, πάντα
τρόπον αὐτοὺς ἐπεξελεύσομαι καθάπερ κοινήν
τεινα τῆς οἰκουμένης νόσον ἐξεγείροντας. Ἐὰν
τούτων ἀποστάντες ἀμφότεροι μετὰ πραότητος
καὶ φιλανθροπείας τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζῆν ἐθελήσητε
καὶ ἐγὼι πρόνοιαν τῆς πόλεως ποήσομαί τὴν ἀνατάτωι
καθάπερ ἐκ προγόνων οἰκίας ὑμῖν ὑπαρχούσης.
Βαρβίλλωι τῶι ἐμῶι ἑτέρωι μαρτυρῶι ἀεὶ πρόνοια[ν]

ἡμῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ ποιουμένωι, ὃς καὶ νῦν πάσηι φιλο-
τειμείᾳ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κέχρ[ητε],
καὶ Τιβερίωι Κλαυδίωι Ἀρχιβίωι τῶι ἐμῶι ἐτέ[ρωι].
Ἔρρωσθαι.

2. l. ἱερωτάτης. 3. l. εἰς, πόλιν; so in ll. 4 (πόλις) and 10. 6. l. ἀναγκαῖον. 8. l. ἀναγινώσκοντες, μεγαλειότητα (MS. μεγαλιοτητ$^{\alpha}$). 15. l. μέγιστος, ἀποδεδειγμένος. 17. l. Λεωνίδου. 18. Ϛαββίωνος: first β corr. from μ. 19. ερμαισκος corr. from ερμαικος. 20. l. οἱ. 21. l. με (?), ὑμᾶς. 22. εὖ εἶστε: Hunt; l. ἴστε. First ε of τεταμιευμενην corr., perhaps from ο. 23. l. εἴχετε. ε of υπαρχοντες corr. from α. 24. l. γνώριμον, ἐξαιρέτως. 25. l. σπουδασθέντες (first σ corr. from π), ἵνα. 26. l. εἶπω, μέγιστος. 27. Καῖσαρ: Hunt. 28. Second ε of προσεδεξαμην corr. from α. l. ὑμῶν. 29. The deleted ρ is smeared and blotted; probably the scribe, after writing it, dropped a blot of ink on the papyrus, and for that reason deleted the ρ and began the word afresh. l. πρῶτα. 30. l. ὑμῖν, ἐπιτρέπω, γενεθλίαν, προείρησθε. 31. l. δὲ ἑκασταχοῦ; the scribe, having written εκατασταχου, intended to insert a σ before the first τ and delete αστ, but he inadvertently inserted it before the second τ and overlooked the preceding τασ. 32. l. ποιήσασθαι συγχωρῶ, ὁρῶ. 33. μνημεῖα: or perhaps μνειμεια (*sic*). l. ὑμετέρας. 34. l. ἱδρύσασθαι ἐσπουδάσατε. Second αν of ανδριαντων corr. 36. προσελειπάρη[σ]εν: Milne; l. προσελιπ. The ο following is inserted above the line, and beneath it (probably not part of εν) is a character which has perhaps, but not certainly, been deleted. 37. l. φορτικώτερος, ἐπί. Ῥώμης ἀνατεθήσεται: Milne. 38. l. ἐπωνύμοις. 39. l. συμπομπευέτω. The κ of the deleted και αυ is not itself deleted, the deleting strokes beginning at α, and possibly καὐτῶι is to be read; but the following καί seems to make a καί before αὐτῷ unnecessary. 40. l. βούλεσθε. 41. προσ[ι]έμενον: Milne. l. τιμάς (α perhaps corr.), καταδεῖξαι. 42. αλση · τε; l. δέ. 43. l. ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέπω, βούλεσθε, Οὐιτρασίου Πολλίωνος. The αι of βουλεσθαι re-written. 44. δε corr. from τε. 45. l. ἀφιδρῦσαι (first ι corr. from υ), βούλεσθε. 46. l. συγχωρῶ. 49. l. παραιτοῦμαι, ἀνθρώποις. 50. First ο of μονοις perhaps corr. 51. l. ἐξαίρετα. 53. l. γινώσκω, ἐφηβευκόσι ἄχρι. 54. l. ἡγεμονίας βέβαιον διαφυλάσσω. σα$^{\epsilon}$
55. l. πολιτείαν, τιμίοις, φιλανθρώποις. 56. l. πᾶσι. βούλων: Milne. 57. εφηβευ[. . . . .]. The deleted letters do not seem to begin with κ, hence κοτες was not the original ending, and οντες is not very likely. l. βούλομαι. 58. l. ὑμῖν. 60. l. νεωκόρους. 61. l. κληρωτούς, βούλομαι, οἱ, Κανώπωι. 62. l. πολιτικάς. 63. l. τριετεῖς. MS. πανεμοι[υ]καλως. 64. l. δοκεῖτε, οἱ, φόβωι. ὑ γὰρ ⟨ἀρ⟩χοντες: Hunt. 65. l. ὑμῖν προσενεχθήσονται. τὸν ἐν: Hunt. 67. l. ὑμῖν, ἔχω. 68. l. εἴχετε. 69. l. πρῶτον. υ of συνοισει corr. from ι. 70. l. πράγμασι. Third ι of αιμιλλιωι corr. from ε; the ι adscript perhaps a later insertion. 71. l. δηλῶσαι, τε, συνίστασθαι. 72. l. δέοι. σ of συναγειν corr. from ι. 75. l. ὑμετέρων. 76. l. φιλοτιμηθέντων. 77. l. ἐξελέγξαι. 78. l. πάλιν. 79. l. προσαγορεύω, καταπαύσητε. ι of ὀλέθριον corr. from ο (?). 81. l. δεῖξαι οἷον, φιλάνθρωπος. 82. l. διαμαρτύρομαι ἵνα. 83. l. φιλανθρώπως προσφέρωνται. 84. l. πόλιν, οἰκοῦσι. 85. σ of θρησκειαν corr. from ι. 86. l. λυμαίνωνται. 87. l. οἷς, ἐγώ. 88. l. Ἰουδαίοις. 89. l. κελεύω, πλήω. 90. l. δυσὶ πόλεσιν. 92. l. ὅ, ἐπράχθη. 93. l. ἀγῶσι. 94. l. οἰκεῖα ἀπολαύοντας. 95. Second α and των of απαντων corr.; perhaps απανον was first written. 96. l. προσίεσθαι. 98. l. ἀναγκασθήσομαι. δ of δε corr. from μ. 100. l. τινα. 102. l. φιλανθρωπίας. 103. l. ἐγώ, ἀνωτάτω; the scribe wrote ανατωτωι, corrected the ω but overlooked the α (Hunt). τὴν: l. perhaps τῆς, but see the commentary. 104. l. οἰκείας ἡμῖν (ι corr. from ω). η of υπαρχουσης corr. from α. 105. l. ἑταίρωι (so in l. 108) μαρτυρῶ. 106. l. ὑμῶν, φιλοτιμίᾳ. 107. l. τὸν ἀγῶνα, κέχρηται ([ητε] is read for reasons of space). 109. l. Ἔρρωσθε.

TRANSLATION

A. The Prefect's Proclamation.

Proclamation by L. Aemilius Rectus: Since the whole populace was unable, owing to its numbers, to be present at the reading of the most sacred and most gracious letter to the city, I have deemed it necessary to display it publicly, in order that reading it individually you may admire the majesty of our god Caesar and show your gratitude for his goodwill towards the city. Year 2 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, 14th Neos Sebastos.

B. The Emperor's Letter.

I. *The Address.*

(1) Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Pontifex Maximus, holder of the Tribunician Power, consul designate, to the city of the Alexandrines, greeting.

II. *The Preamble.*

(2) Ti. Claudius Barbillus, Apollonius son of Artemidorus, Chaeremon son of Leonides, M. Julius Asclepiades, C. Julius Dionysius, Ti. Claudius Phanias, Pasion son of Potamon, Dionysius son of Sabbion, Ti. Claudius Apollonius son of Ariston, C. Julius Apollonius, and Hermaiscus son of Apollonius, your ambassadors, having delivered to me the decree, discoursed at length concerning the city, directing my attention to the goodwill towards you which for many years past, you know, you have found stored up in me; for you are by disposition loyal to the Augusti, as is manifest to me by many tokens, and in particular have shown and received many good offices in relation to my house, of which (to mention but the last instance, disregarding the others) my brother Germanicus Caesar is the supreme exemplar, addressing you more frankly, by word of mouth. Hence I gladly received the honours given me by you, though I am not partial to such things.

III. *The Honours Voted.*

(3) In the first place I permit you to keep my birthday as a *Dies Augusta* in the manner stated in your own proclamation.

(4) I agree to the erection by you in the places specified of the statues of myself and the members of my family; for I see that you have been zealous to establish on every side memorials of your loyalty towards my house.

(5) Of the two golden statues, that of the Pax Augusta Claudiana made at the suggestion and earnest entreaties of my very good friend Barbillus was refused by me as it appears too offensive, and is to be dedicated to Roma; the other shall have a place in your processions in the manner you think best on name-days; and with it let there be also a throne adorned with whatever decoration you wish.

(6) It would perhaps be foolish, while accepting so great honours to refuse to introduce a Claudian tribe and sanction sacred precincts for each nome of Egypt;

wherefore I permit you both to take these measures, and, if you wish, to set up also the equestrian statues of Vitrasius Pollio my procurator.

(7) To the erection of four-horse chariots which you desire to establish in my honour at the entrances into the country I give my consent; one to be at the place called Taposiris in Libya, one at Pharos in Alexandria, the third at Pelusium in Egypt.

(8) I deprecate, however, the appointment of a high-priest to me and the erection of temples, for I do not wish to be offensive to my contemporaries, and I hold that sacred fanes and the like have by all ages been attributed only to the gods as peculiar honours.

IV. *The Favours Asked.*

(9) Concerning the requests which you are anxious that I should grant I decide as follows: To all who have become ephebi down to my principate I secure and confirm the Alexandrian citizenship with all the privileges and amenities enjoyed by the city except only to such as may have intruded themselves among you and contrived, though born of servile mothers, to become ephebi; and no less is it my will that all those favours shall be confirmed which were granted you by my predecessors in the principate and by kings and prefects, as Divus Augustus also confirmed them.

(10) It is my will that the *neocori* of the temple of Divus Augustus at Alexandria shall be chosen by lot in the same way as those of the same Divus Augustus at Canopus are chosen by lot.

(11) In your plan for making the municipal magistracies triennial you seem to me to have shown great wisdom; for the magistrates, through fear of the account which they will have to render for any delinquencies, will behave with greater circumspection during their term of office.

(12) As to the question of the senate, what was your custom under your former kings I cannot say, but that you had not a senate under the Augusti who have preceded me you know well. Since therefore this is a new proposal now first mooted and it is uncertain whether it will be to the advantage of the city and of my own interests, I have written to Aemilius Rectus to hold an inquiry and to inform me both whether the order should be constituted and, if this should be decided on, in what way it is to be formed.

V. *The Jewish Question.*

(13) As to the question which of you were responsible for the riot and feud (or rather, if the truth must be told, the war) against the Jews, I was unwilling to commit myself to a decided judgement, though your ambassadors, and particularly Dionysius son of Theon, pleaded your cause with much zeal in confrontation (with their opponents), and I must reserve for myself an unyielding indignation against whoever caused this renewed outbreak; but I tell you plainly that if you do not desist from this baneful and obstinate mutual hostility I shall perforce be compelled to show what a benevolent prince can be when turned to just indignation. (14) Wherefore I conjure you yet once again that, on the one side, the Alexandrines show themselves forbearing and kindly towards the Jews who for many years have dwelt in the same city, and offer no outrage to them in the

exercise of their traditional worship but permit them to observe their customs as in the time of Divus Augustus, which customs I also, after hearing both sides, have confirmed; and, on the other side, I bid the Jews not to busy themselves about anything beyond what they have held hitherto, and not henceforth, as if you and they lived in two cities, to send two embassies—a thing such as never occurred before now—nor to strive in gymnasiarchic or cosmetic games, but to profit by what they possess, and enjoy in a city not their own an abundance of all good things; and not to introduce or invite Jews who sail down to Alexandria from Syria or Egypt, thus compelling me to conceive the greater suspicion; otherwise I will by all means take vengeance on them as fomenting a general plague for the whole world. (15) If, desisting on both sides from these proceedings, you are willing to live with mutual forbearance and kindliness, I on my side will continue to display the time-honoured solicitude for the interests of the city, with which my family has a traditional friendship.

VI. *Conclusion.*

(16) I testify to the constant zeal for your interests with which on this occasion also my friend Barbillus has exerted himself to further your cause before me, as also to that of my friend Ti. Claudius Archibius. Farewell.

1. For L. Aemilius Rectus see Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.*, ii, p. 372 f., Cantarelli, p. 27.

6. *ἐκθεῖναι*: i. e., the Latin *proponere*; this is a case of *propositio*, but not in the technical sense as applied to *subscriptiones*: see above, p. 4.

8. *μεγαλιότητα*: the original looks more like *-λιστητα*.

13. *ιδ*: the *ι* is written over the beginning of the *δ* or vice versa. Perhaps therefore one figure is corrected to the other.

14 f. Claudius at first declined the title Pater Patriae, which he assumed only between the 6th and the 12th of January, A. D. 42 (Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, iii, 2787).

16. *Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Βάρβιλλος*: the name, granting a confusion of *r* and *l*, which is likely enough in an Egyptian scribe, is that of Ti. Claudius Balbillus, the prefect under Nero (Tacitus, *Ann.*, xiii, 22; Pliny, *N. H.*, xix, 1, 3; Seneca, *Quaest. Nat.*, iv, 2, 13), who was very likely of eastern origin (Cantarelli, p. 30 f.); but it is not probable that the prefect had any connexion with Alexandria, and more likely the name is the known *Βάρβιλλος*, for which see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*. The ambassador may conceivably be the astrologer spoken of by Dio (lxvi, 9, 2) as one of *τοῖς ἀρίστοις αὐτῶν* (*ἀστρολόγοι*) and employed by Vespasian, who is also mentioned by Suetonius, *Nero*, 36. He was clearly a man of some standing (note that Claudius speaks of our Barbillus (l. 105) as *τῶι ἐμῶι ἑτ⟨αί⟩ρωι*; cf. too l. 36); but there is no evidence that he was a Roman citizen, and the only locality with which we have authority for connecting him is Ephesus (Dio, *l. c.*).

Ἀπολλώνις Ἀρτεμιδώρου: the name is too common to justify us in identifying this man with the *Ἀπολλώνιός τις Αἰγύπτιος* mentioned by Dio (lix, 29, 4), though the date suits. The 'Apollonius Graecus' mentioned as a rhetorician by Seneca, *Controv.*, 7, 4, 3, is of course too early.

17. *Χαιρήμων Λεονίδου*: here at least we certainly meet with a known person, viz. the *Χαιρήμων ὁ φιλόσοφος* (Suidas, *s. v. Διονύσιος Ἀλεξανδρεύς*, ed. Bernhardy, 1394), for whom see Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *s. v.* Chairemon 7 (iii, 2025–7). We do not, indeed, know the name of that Chaeremon's father, but he was an Alexandrine, a man of great distinction and with Imperial connexions (he was a teacher of Nero, Suidas, *s. v. Ἀλέξανδρος Αἰγαῖος*, Bernhardy, 204), and the date suits perfectly. Moreover he was hostile to the Jews, and Josephus, *c. Ap.*, i, 288–303, replies at some length to his *Αἰγυπτιακὴ ἱστορία*.

Μᾶρκος Ἰούλιος Ἀσκληπιάδης: probably, as Prof. Rostovtzeff points out, the Julius Asclepiades, *φιλόσοφος*, of P. Fay. 82 and 87.

Γάιος Ἰούλιος Διονύσιο(ς): no doubt the person alluded to by Philo, *In Fl.*, 4, 20 (M. 520), *Διονύσιοι δημοκόποι κτλ.*; he is apparently mentioned below (l. 76; see l. 20, n.)

as the chief exponent of the Alexandrian case against the Jews. Among the ambassadors of P. Oxy. x, 1242 (a mission apparently sent about A. D. 112, certainly not later than 114 and probably not before 111; see W. Weber, *Hermes*, l, 1915, 80) are a Dionysius and a Theon; the latter, but not the former, recurs in the 'Paulus and Antoninus *Acta*' (early Hadrian), and in C. I. G. 4734 (= Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.*, ii, 682; I. G Rom. i, 1196), an inscription probably written in A. D. 130 (Letronne, *La Statue vocale de Memnon*, p. 181; so too Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, i, p. 197; see however C. I. G. iii, p. 1203, col. 2), we have Γάιος Ἰούλιος Διονύσιος ἀρχιδικαστής, Θέωνος ἀρχιδικαστοῦ ὑὸς καὶ πατήρ. In P. Oxy. i, 33 verso, iv, 6 a Theon is named among the Alexandrian 'martyrs'; and finally in P. Oxy. ii, 268, 1 (A. D. 58) we have a Θέωνι ἀρχιδικα[στ]ῆι. The father of our Dionysius, assuming his identity with the man named in l. 76, was Theon. The names Theon and Dionysius were of course common, but in view of the practice, so frequent in Egypt, by which a son was given his grandfather's name, it is very tempting to connect these various people, all probably belonging to the high Alexandrian aristocracy and several of them known to have occupied important official positions. Weber (*Hermes*, l, 49 f.) identifies the Dionysius of Oxy. 1242 with the Διονύσιος Ἀλεξανδρεύς of Suidas, described as pupil and successor of Chaeremon, whom we here find associated with our C. Julius Dionysius. Otto (*l. c.*) raises the question whether the archidicastes of A. D. 58 was the father of the Dionysius of C. I. G. 4734, who describes himself as son of a Theon, ἀρχιδικαστής. This seems improbable, even assuming, with Otto, that Theon became archidicastes when very young and the younger Dionysius when very old. It does, however, seem not unlikely, if our C. Julius Dionysius was the son of a Theon, that the Theon of A. D. 58 was his son and the Dionysius of Oxy. 1242 his grandson. Weber is no doubt right in regarding the last-named as an old man ('er muss ein Siebziger gewesen sein'); and if we assume him to have been, say, 78, he may have had a son already in middle life, himself with an adult son. Hence the Theon of Oxy. 1242 and of the 'Paulus and Antoninus *Acta*' may be the son of this Dionysius, who, since he took part in the embassy under Trajan but not in that under Hadrian, very likely died in the interval. A Julius Theon, ex-archidicastes and actual hypomnematographus, occurs in P. Tebt. ii, 286 = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 83 (after A. D. 121) and is no doubt to be identified with the father of the Dionysius of C. I. G. 4734, perhaps with the Theon of Oxy. 1242 and of the 'Paulus and Antoninus *Acta*'. There is a chronological difficulty in this, if we take C. I. G. 4734 literally as meaning that Dionysius's son was archidicastes; but as Otto points out (i, p. 197), this is not absolutely necessary; the wording of the inscription may be loose and inexact. Perhaps, however, the last Theon may have become archidicastes very young; we do not know that this was impossible. Hence the following (of course quite conjectural) genealogy may be constructed:—Theon—C. Julius Dionysius, envoy in A. D. 41—Theon, archidicastes in A. D. 58—Dionysius, pupil and successor of Chaeremon, envoy, as an old man, *circ.* A. D. 112—Julius Theon, envoy with his father *circ.* 112 and without him at the beginning of Hadrian's reign, archidicastes at an unknown date—C. Julius Dionysius, archidicastes in A. D. 130—Theon, possibly archidicastes before that date. An objection to these identifications is the absence of the Roman gentile name in several cases, e. g. in Oxy. 1242 and Oxy. 268; but a comparison of ll. 17 and 76 of the present letter suggests that the usage was negligent, even in an official document; and see too the remarks of Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, i, 34, 1984, 199; Koschaker, *Z. d. Sav.-St.*, xxviii, 258 f. Oxy. 1242 was not itself official, though probably based on the official *Acta*, while Oxy. 268 is a copy only.

18. Σαββίωνος: hardly anything of the σ remains, but the reading is very probable. Σαμβίων and Σαββίων are doubtless variant forms of the same name; for the second see Josephus, *Ant.*, xv, 47; C. I. G. add. 2113 c (Tauric Chersonese); for the first C. I. G. 2130, 57 (Anapa in Circassia); I. G. Rom. i, 920 (Tanais). It should be Semitic, and though not found in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, is no doubt connected with the common Σαμβᾶς, which again may be related to the names Σαμβαθαῖος, &c. (*Namenbuch*, col. 524). There is, however, no reason to suppose that it was specially Jewish or that Dionysius was of Jewish ancestry.

19. Τιβέριος . . . Ἀρίστονος: it is a little difficult to decide whether we have here one person or two. To place a comma after Κλαύδις, involves leaving Ti. Claudius without a cognomen, which is improbable in an official document at this period; on the other hand it is contrary to precedent to give the patronymic of a Roman citizen at the end of the name like this. Possibly a cognomen has been omitted by the careless scribe; but it may be merely that, the name Apollonius being common, there was another Ti. Claudius Apol-

lonius at Alexandria, and the father's name is inserted to prevent confusion. The position of *Ἀρίστονος* may be due to the translator.

19 f. *Ἑρμαίσκος Ἀπολλωνίου*: in Oxy. 1242, col. iii, occurs a man of this name, who, as he was evidently of distinguished birth (l. 44 f.: *Ἑρμαίσκε, αὐθάδως ἀποκρείνῃ πεποιθὼς τῷ σεαυτοῦ γένει*), may well be the son or, better, the grandson of the present envoy.

20. *ὑ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν*: on the use of this form as against *πρεσβευταί* see Lafoscade, *De epistulis*, p. 90. The context naturally suggests that all the ambassadors have been named, and it is curious, therefore, that in l. 108 Claudius refers to Ti. Claudius Archibius as having rendered services to the Alexandrines in connexion with the embassy. We can only suppose that Archibius happened to be in Rome at the time and, being a *persona grata* with the Emperor (*τῶι ἐμῶι ἑτ(αι)ρωι*, l. 108), used his influence on behalf of the envoys. In l. 76, indeed, *Διονυσίου τοῦ Θέων[ο]ς* is mentioned; but strange as it is that he should thus be referred to, it can hardly be doubted that this is the C. Julius Dionysius of l. 17.

ψήφισμα: a *ψήφισμα* might be carried by any corporate body (see especially Wilcken, *Chrest.* 332, 23, n., and Partsch, *Archiv*, v, 454 f.; cf. the *ψήφισμα* of the Jews in honour of Gaius, Philo, *In Fl.*, 12, 97, M. 531), so that nothing can be gathered from this as to the machinery by which the Alexandrian *πόλις* expressed its mind.

21. *ὑπαγόμενοί μοι δῆλον*: Hunt prefers correcting *μοι* to *με* and taking *δῆλον* as = *δηλαδή* to placing a comma after *ὑπαγόμενοι* and taking *μοι* (for *ἐμοὶ*) *δῆλον* as a parenthesis. Probably he is right, though the mistake *μοι* for *με* is unexpected; Hunt suggests that the scribe was influenced by the *οι* of *ὑπαγόμενοι*. Even so the sentence is a little awkward, and perhaps suggests translation from a somewhat intractable original.

22. *ε̣.*: difficult. *ε̣ὖ* could perhaps be read but is not good here, and *ἓ̣ῃ̣[ι]* is also inappropriate, besides that there is no trace of any letter lost after that which follows the supposed *ε*. There seems to be insufficient room for a letter of any size between *ν* and *ε̣*, so that *ἀ̣ε̣ί* and *κα̣τ-*, which would give a sense, are not suitable. Very likely it is nothing more than *ει*, inadvertently repeated at the beginning of l. 23.

23–27. Since the Alexandrines were notoriously hostile to the Roman Empire and continually at loggerheads with the authorities (cf., e.g., Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*, v, 582, Wilcken, *Antisemitismus*, p. 787; but note, on the other side, Philo, *In Fl.*, 4, 23, M. 520: *ἡ πόλις Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐστίν, ἣν τετίμηκε μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπας ὁ Σεβαστὸς οἶκος*), the first clause can be regarded only as a diplomatic misrepresentation of the facts, except in so far as *εὐσεβεῖς περὶ τοὺς Σεβαστούς* may be taken to refer to the Imperial cult (cf. the *ναοῦ ὅς ἐστιν τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ* of l. 60 f.), in which the Alexandrines had never been backward; but the second is probably true enough. Germanicus, who appeared at Alexandria in Greek dress and, during a famine, opened the state granaries and distributed wheat to the citizens (Tacitus, *Ann.*, ii, 59; cf. Josephus, *c. Ap.*, ii, 63; see too Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, x, 454), was very popular there, and Gaius also seems to have had an affection for Alexandria, which he was intending to visit at the time of his assassination; cf. Philo, *Leg.*, 43, 338 (M. 595): *ἄλεκτος γάρ τις αὐτὸν ἔρως κατεῖχε τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, εἰς ἣν ἐπόθει σπουδῇ πάσῃ παραγενέσθαι καὶ ἀφικόμενος πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐνδιαιτηθῆναι κτλ.*; Josephus, *Ant.*, xix, 81: *ἐπὶ γὰρ Ἀλεξανδρείας παρεσκεύαστο πλεῖν κατὰ θεωρίαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου*. For Germanicus in Egypt cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Sitzgsber. Pr. Akad.*, 1911, 816–21. It is to be remembered further that Claudius represented not only the Julio-Claudian house but that of Antony; on this subject see the remarks of H. Willrich, *Klio*, iii, 99, 400. For Claudius's piety towards his family see Suetonius, 11; Dio, lx, 5, 1–2.

27. *προσαγορεύσας*: the allusion seems to be to some definite speech or speeches delivered by Germanicus and apparently still on record. The word after *Γερμανικός* was at first read *καίπερ*, which made the clause a little strange. Hunt's *Καῖσαρ* (palaeographically equally possible) lessens but does not wholly remove the difficulty of *γνησιωτέραις*. It can hardly mean 'more *sincere*', but perhaps, as Hunt remarks, the idea may be that words spoken face to face had more force than those merely written. The paraphrase adopted in the text (suggested by Mr. Gilson) perhaps best represents the sense.

29. This is quite true; cf. Suetonius, 12; Dio, lx, 5, 3–4, 12, 5. For his attitude towards the erection of statues see especially the first passage of Dio: *καὶ εἰκόνα μίαν, καὶ ταύτην ἀργυρᾶν, ἀνδριάντας τε δύο χαλκοῦ τε καὶ λίθου ψηφισθέντας αὐτῷ τὰ πρῶτα ἔλαβε. μάταια γὰρ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναλώματα εἶναι, καὶ προσέτι πολλὴν μὲν ζημίαν πολὺν δὲ καὶ ὄχλον τῇ γε πόλει παρέχειν ἔλεγε.* It has been suggested in the introduction (p. 4) that *ῥάιδιος* perhaps represents the Latin *facilis*.

29 f. Σεβαστὴν κτλ.: for the ἡμέραι Σεβασταί see Fr. Blumenthal, *Archiv*, v, 336–44. The birthday of Claudius was Aug. 1 (Suetonius, 2; Dio, lx, 5, 3), and Blumenthal (p. 338) has pointed out, in Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.*, ii, 663, 5 (A. D. 42, from Denderah), an instance of Pharmuthi 8 described as Σεβαστῆι. The Imperial birthdays were celebrated monthly, not, as with us, annually; hence Pharmuthi 8 points to Mesore 8, which = Aug. 1; i. e. the 8th day of the month was celebrated as the birthday of Claudius. Blumenthal (p. 343) holds that 'die Eponymitätserklärungen' were issued 'von den staatlichen Behörden, vom praefectus oder vom Kultusminister', but here the initiative clearly proceeded from the municipality, not only as to the celebration of the birthday but even as to the method of it (ὃν τρόπον αὐτοὶ προείρησθ⟨ε⟩; note the perfect), and we may make a similar assumption for Naucratis and Ptolemais. For Egypt as a whole it is difficult to see what single authority other than the Roman officials could take action, though the various πολιτεύματα may probably enough have voted certain honours (cf. the ψήφισμα of the Jews, Philo, *In Fl.*, 12, 97), and we may suppose that the prefect or ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Αἰγύπτου πάσης issued the necessary order; but the present evidence makes it likely that, in that case, the authorization of the observance for the whole country merely followed and completed, and did not precede, the spontaneous local decrees.

31. ἀνδριάντων: on the use of this word (implying human honours) rather than ἄγαλμα (implying divinity) for the Imperial statues see Blumenthal, *Archiv*, v, 328.

35. ὁ μὲν Κλαυδιανῆς Εἰρήνης Σεβαστῆς γενέ[με]νος: the last word, though largely restored, seems all but certain. For the Pax Augusta see Daremberg-Saglio, *s. v.* Pax, p. 363; J. Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'Empire romain*, i, 422; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p. 277 f.; V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, i, 479–81, ii, 263–6; A. W. Van Buren, *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, iii (1913), 138 f. Since the chief recommendation of the Roman Empire to the provincials was the peace and security which it brought one might expect that the cult of Pax Augusta would be very popular, but the extant dedications are not specially numerous, either in the East or in the West. C. I. L. iii, Suppl. 6983 (= Dessau, 5883), from Amastris in Pontus, is a bilingual dedication to Pax Augusta during the reign and in honour of Claudius: 'Pro pace A[ug. i]n honorem Ti. Claudi Germanic[i Au]g. divi Aug.'; ὑπὲρ τῆς Σεβα[στῆς εἰρήνης εἰς] τὴν τειμὴν Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Γερμαν[ικοῦ Σεβαστοῦ].

37. ἐπεὶ Ῥώμης ἀνατεθήσεται: the ω is not altogether satisfactory but seems possible, especially as the papyrus is broken here, and ἐπεί is quite likely. If it is correct we have to suppose a blank space after δοκεῖν, but such spaces are not infrequent, particularly where there is a break in the sense, and ἀρνουμένου . . . δοκεῖν may be regarded as a parenthesis. The cult of Roma or Dea Roma, whether alone or in combination with the Imperial cult, was widespread; see Daremberg-Saglio, *s. v.* Roma. Many dedications will be found in the indices to C. I. L., Dittenberger, Dessau, &c. For the association of geographical personifications with the cult of the Pax Augusta see A. W. Van Buren, *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, iii, 134–41 (see, however, Rostovtzeff, *Archaeologia*, lxix, 1917–18, 207).

38. ὁ δὲ ἕτερος: it is regrettable that Claudius does not state what this other statue was. Since he has declined the Pax Augusta Claudiana διὰ τὸ φορτικ⟨ώ⟩τερος δοκεῖν we cannot suppose it was a statue of his Genius or anything having a purely personal reference. An ingenious and very plausible suggestion has been put forward by Mr. J. G. Milne: that this statue was of Messalina, who on the reverse of the Alexandrian tetradrachms of Claudius in the years 2 to 6 figures, with two children, as Demeter (see figure, p. 37). As Mr. Milne observes, 'if the Alexandrians had judiciously made a statue of her, Claudius would not have ventured to do anything except allow it to be honoured'. This seems on the whole the likeliest explanation.

πομπεύσει κτλ.: we may infer from this that a procession formed a regular part of the celebrations on the ἡμέραι Σεβασταί. Processions were of course a constant feature of Greek religious festivals; the most famous Alexandrian πομπή was that of Philadelphus (Athen., v, 196a ff.).

39. δίφρος: it is not certain whether this word here means a chariot or a seat. In the procession the former might be expected; but if that were intended the statue would presumably be borne in the car (cf. Philo, *Leg.*, 20, 134, M. 565), which can hardly be the meaning of συνπομπευέτωι κτλ. Probably, therefore, we are to understand an elaborately worked chair or throne, perhaps a *sella curulis*; possibly, however, a litter.

40. ἠσκημένος: the same word in Philo, *Leg.*, 22, 151 (M. 568): τέμενος . . . ἅπασι τοῖς εἰς πολυτελέστατον κόσμον ἠσκημένον.

41. φυλὴν Κλαυδιανάν: no such tribe is known elsewhere, for in P. Lond. iii, 840, 2 (p. 169) the reading is not Κλαυδιανὸς ὁ καὶ . . . ιδος, as suggested in the note *ad loc.*, but Κλαυδία[ς Ἀ]θηναΐδος (Preisigke, *B.-L.*); but a Φιλοκλαύδιος ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς, probably (from the deme-name) Alexandrian, is known from P. Amh. 85, 1; 86, 1 of A.D. 78, and it may be that the Alexandrines adopted the name Φιλοκλαύδιος rather than Κλαυδιανός, as here suggested (but see Wilcken, *Archiv*, v, 183, who very plausibly refers this name to Nero). Our evidence for Alexandria is, however, so imperfect, that there may well have been a φυλὴ Κλαυδιανά not recorded in papyri. It is indeed possible that the tribe was named Κλαυδιανά at this time, but that its name was changed to Φιλοκλαύδιος by or under Nero. For the Alexandrian tribe-names of the Roman period see Schubart, *Archiv*, v, 94 f. The present passage, in which καταδῖξαι should go with ἀρνήσασθαι (hardly with παρεῖναι), seems to imply that the Emperor alone had power to modify the tribe organization, and therefore probably disproves Schubart's conjecture (*Klio*, x, 56) that 'die Demen- und Phylenordnung in Alexandrien selbständiger Regelung durch die Stadt offen gestanden hätte'.

42. ἄλση κτλ.: this is a somewhat unexpected concession, and it is not clear to whom these groves were to be sacred. Hardly to Claudius, in view of ll. 35–7 above and 48–51 below? Possibly they were to be established, in his honour, as part of the cult of Divus Augustus and in connexion with the existing Σεβαστεῖα or with temples in which the Caesars were σύνναοι. In support of this reference may be made to Philo, *Leg.*, 22, 151 (M. 568), which mentions, in connexion with the Σεβαστεῖον at Alexandria, τέμενος εὐρύτατον . . . ἄλσεσι . . . ἠσκημένον. The Greek of our letter might mean either that an ἄλσος was to be planted *for* each nome (i. e. at Alexandria) or *in* each nome. The former seems unlikely; against the latter is the difficulty of supposing that the Alexandrines had either the wish or the authority to take such steps in the χώρα. But in ll. 46–7 we find permission given for dedications at Taposiris and Pelusium, neither of which had any special connexion with Alexandria, and the former was not even in Egypt proper at all, and Alexandrian citizens were widely scattered throughout Egypt; moreover, the clause may be merely a loose way of authorizing the extension to the whole country of a concession made to Alexandria. Σεβαστεῖα are known in only a few nomes (a list by Blumenthal in *Archiv*, v, 322), but it may be assumed that every nome had its official centre of the Caesar cult, either in a special Σεβαστεῖον or in some existing temple. For the importance and diffusion of sacred groves in antiquity see the article *Lucus* in Daremberg-Saglio. An ἄλσος is known in the Fayum from the Κάστελλον Ἄλσους of P. Lond. iii, 1177, and the ὅρμος Ἄλσους of Lond. 948 = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 341.

43. Οὐειτρασίου Πωλείωνος: cf. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 57: 'Rubet porphyrites in eadem Aegypto . . . Statuas ex eo Claudio Caesari procurator eius in urbem ex Aegypto advexit Vitrasius Pollio, non admodum probata novitate; nemo certe postea imitatus est'. There has been some controversy as to whether this 'procurator' is to be identified with the C. Vitrasius Pollio who was prefect of Egypt from A.D. 39 to 41 (Cantarelli, p. 27). The editors of the *Prosop. Imp. Rom.* (iii, p. 456) accept the identity, but Cantarelli (p. 27), following P. M. Meyer (*Hermes*, xxxii, 211), doubts it, and K. Fitzler (*Steinbrüche*, p. 96[2]) definitely rejects it, suggesting (cf. too p. 126) that Pliny's Pollio was *procurator metallorum*. The present passage, in Prof. Rostovtzeff's opinion, despite the use of the word ἐπίτροπος (*procurator*), makes against this, for the *procurator metallorum* was hardly a person of sufficient importance for the Alexandrines to erect statues (and *equestrian* statues) to him. It is true that Claudius elsewhere (l. 59) uses the correct ἔπαρχος for the prefect, not the attested but technically inexact ἐπίτροπος (cf. A. Stein, *Archiv*, iv, 151[4]), nor does he refer to Pollio, as one would expect if he were referring to a prefect, as γενομένου; but Rostovtzeff remarks that we do not know that Pollio, after leaving Egypt, was not given a procuratorship; or again, Claudius may be using the word (of an ex-prefect) in a loose, general sense, to indicate the grade in the Imperial service which he had reached. Equestrian statues certainly suggest military command, and there is no reason to suppose that the *procurator metallorum* had troops under his immediate authority. Perhaps, therefore, the Vitrasius Pollio of Pliny is the prefect, whose term of office is thus seen to have extended into the reign of Claudius, Rectus being doubtless his immediate successor; but it may be suggested on the other hand that the reference may conceivably, if less probably, be to statues of Claudius made by (i. e. at the cost of) Vitrasius Pollio. The Greek is not

inconsistent with this, and the clause follows directly on the acceptance by Claudius of *personal* honours.

44. *ἀνδριάντας*: possibly, however, *ἀνδριάντες* (*sic*).

44 f. *τῶν δὲ τετραπώλων ἀναστάσε[ι]ς*: *τὰς δὲ τῶν κτλ.* would be better Greek, and the text may, here again, indicate translation; see, however, Lafoscade, *De Epistulis*, pp. 92 ff. For the dedication of four-horse chariots cf. Philo, *Leg.*, 20, 135 (M. 565): *τέθριππον ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου παλαιότατον . . . ὡς δέ φασί τινες καὶ ὑπὲρ γυναικὸς ἀνατεθὲν τῆς ἀρχαίας Κλεοπάτρας*; a classical instance is Herodotus, v, 77. Perhaps these chariots were dedicated not to Claudius but on behalf of him (*ὑπέρ* as in Philo), though *ἀφιδρῦσ⟨αί⟩ μοι* more naturally suggests the former. They were to be placed at the entrances into Egypt from the North (sea), West, and East, and possibly the ancient association of the chariot with war may have inspired the choice.

45. *ἀναστάσε[ι]ς . . . χώρας*: the text as it stands is obviously corrupt, and the correction adopted not only gives the required sense but explains the error; the scribe's eye skipped from the first to the second *εισ*.

46. *τῆς Λιβύης*: this is the Libyae nomos, a part of the Marmarica; see W. Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geogr.*, *s. v.* Marmarica. The western boundary of Egypt was a little uncertain, and the Libyan nome was sometimes reckoned as Egyptian, but here it is clearly excluded from the country.

48. *ἀρχ{ι}ιερέα*: a Rainer papyrus (R 172, 1st cent.) quoted by Wessely, *Karanis und Soknopaiu Nesos*, p. 66, mentions (as read by W.) *Κ[λανδίου Καί]σαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερ[μανι]κοῦ ἀρχιερεῖ Γαΐωι Ἰουλ[ίωι] Ἀσκλη(πιάδηι) καὶ ἐξηγητῆι [—]ωι.* P. Ryl. ii, 149, 1–4, shows, as the editors point out, that the latter part is to be read *Ἀσκλᾶ ἐξηγητῆι [στρατηγ]ῶι*, and the present passage gives support to their suggestion that *Κ[λανδίου* is to be amended to *Γ[αΐου*—unless, indeed, we refer the name to Nero (cf. Blumenthal, *Archiv*, v, p. 323), which is not particularly likely in view of the Rylands papyrus. For the *ἀρχιερεύς* in the Imperial cult see Blumenthal, *Archiv*, v, 332; Kornemann, *Klio*, i, 99, 107, &c.

49. *φορτικός*: cf. l. 37.

52. *αἰτηθέντων*: the dotted letters are very doubtful; the characters suggest rather *μω*.

53. *ἐφηβευκώσει*: for the ephebia in Egypt see Jouguet, *Remarques sur l'éphébie dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, in *Rev. de Phil.*, xxxiv (1910), 43–56, *Vie municipale*, pp. 150–60; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 139–43; Schubart, *Ägypten*, p. 143. The age of ephebia was normally 14, though there were perhaps exceptions (Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, pp. 150–3, Wilcken, p. 141 f.); the duration, normally in the Greek world one year, though with local exceptions, is uncertain in Egypt, but may have been a single year. Jouguet holds (p. 158) that the ephebia 'est le signe du droit de cité et que la seule preuve qu'on peut donner de son droit de cité est l'inscription sur le registre des éphèbes', and the present passage confirms this, for it is the ephebia which Claudius takes as proof of citizenship. Cf. *Gnomon*, § 44 (l. 121 f.): *Αἰγυπτίου ἀπογραψαμένο[υ] υἱὸν ὡς ἐφηβευκό[τ]α τῶν δύο τέταρτον ἀναλαμβάνεται.* The motive for such wrongful enrolment was doubtless to secure a claim to the citizenship.

54. The Emperors, usually through the prefect, exercised a control over the Alexandrian citizenship; see *Gnomon*, § 40 (l. 113 f.): *τὰ περὶ τῶν εἰσαγόντων οὓς μὴ δεῖ εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων πολε[ι]τ[ί]αν νῦν ἡγεμονικῆς γέγονεν διαγνώσεως.* See too Schubart, *Einführung*, p. 269 f. and references there; Th. Reinach, *Nouv. Rev. Hist. de Droit*, xliv (1920), 16–17.

55. For these rights see, e. g., Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, pp. 25 ff.; Schubart, *Klio*, x, 59 f. One very important advantage of Alexandrian citizenship to a native of Egypt was that it was the essential condition of admission to the Roman citizenship.

56. *τινες*: or possibly *τινας* (*sic*), but *ε* and *α* are often difficult to distinguish in this hand.

ὡς . . . ἐφηβεῦσαι: *ὡς* is evidently used in the sense of *ὥστε*, and *καίπερ* must be understood before *ἐγ δούλων*. *δούλων* is doubtless to be taken as feminine; the reference is to the sons of citizens by servile mothers. Such persons were not, of course, entitled to the citizenship, for *μὴ ὢν δὲ νόμιμος υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς ὄντος Ἀλεξανδρέως Ἀλεξανδρεὺς οὐ δύναται εἶναι* (P. Cattaoui 1 + BGU. 114, v, 6–8, *Archiv*, iii, 60); but that persons without the proper qualification were sometimes introduced into the roll of citizenship is shown by the passages quoted above from the *Gnomon*, and a citizen could no doubt, on occasion, find means of getting his slave-born son accepted among the ephebi. On this subject see Reinach, cited above, l. 53, n.

58. *ἡγεμόνων*: note this use of *ἡγεμών* as = *princeps*; cf. l. 81.

59. *ὡς καὶ* [*ὁ*] *θεὸς Σεβαστὸς ἐβεβαίωσε*: the reference is clearly to a definite act of Augustus. After the surrender of Alexandria he addressed the Alexandrines in Greek, promising them an amnesty (Dio, li, 16, 3–4; Plutarch, *Anton.*, 80, *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.*, *Aug.*, 3), and from the way in which this is reported the speech may have been preserved, though the reports of Dio and Plutarch do not wholly agree, but it does not seem likely that Augustus's confirmation of privileges formed part of his speech; it was doubtless embodied in a decree or proclamation. It can, in any case, hardly be doubted that Claudius had the text of the confirmation before him. This is important for the question of the senate (see above, p. 9). Of course, as it stands, the sentence is illogical, for Augustus cannot have confirmed any grants of privileges by *ἡγεμόνες* or *ἔπαρχοι*.

60. *νεοκόρους*: apparently the first mention in Egypt of *neocori* in connexion with the Imperial cult. For instances outside see, e.g., C. I. G. 3190 (Smyrna; *νεωκόρον τῶν Σεβαστῶν*); 3484 (Thyatira; *νεωκόρος τοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ)*); add. 3831. a 17 (Aezani; *οἱ νεωκόροι αὐτοῦ* [Claudius?] *διὰ βίου*). It may be inferred from the present passage that *neocori* were a regular feature of the cult in Egypt also, for l. 61 shows that there were *neocori* at Canopus. It appears that in the latter place they were appointed by lot, and the injunction to adopt the same method at Alexandria implies that this had not been done hitherto; probably they had there been elected. From the choice by lot we may perhaps, though not necessarily, infer that the appointment was for a year only; that the office was normally held for a limited period is shown by such a title as *νεωκόρος διὰ βίου* (see above). The known instances prove it to have been a very honourable post, for which, at Alexandria, there may well have been keen competition, and this, rather than any shortage of qualified candidates, was probably the reason for the change. For the title *νεωκόρος* applied to cities, chiefly in connexion with the Imperial cult, see E. Beurlier, *Le culte impérial*, chap. iv, and *ap.* Daremberg-Saglio, *s. v.* Neocorus. The present passage, in a letter addressed to the *πόλις* of Alexandria, confirms what had already been established by Blumenthal in his article in the *Archiv* (cf. too Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 119), that the *Σεβαστεῖα* were municipal temples and the cult therefore a municipal one.

60 f. *ναοῦ . . . Σεβαστοῦ*: this settles an old controversy. Suidas (*s. v.* *Ἡμίεργον*, Bernhardy, 853) states of the Augusteum or Caesareum at Alexandria: *Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ᾠκοδόμε* [i. e. Cleopatra] *νεὼν μέγαν, ὅσπερ οὖν ἡμίεργος ἀπελείφθη· τῷ Σεβαστῷ δὲ ἐτελέσθη.* Pliny (*N. H.*, xxxvi, 69) mentions two obelisks, 'Alexandreae ad portum in Caesaris templo', and hence Mommsen (C. I. L., iii, Suppl. 1, p. 1203, on 6588) held that the statement in Suidas was an error and that the temple was really dedicated to Julius, the name *Σεβαστεῖον* being due merely to the association of Augustus with the cult of his father. Blumenthal, however (*Archiv*, v, 318 f.), preferred to accept the explicit statement of Suidas, and the present passage shows that he was right. The passage of Pliny cannot be set against the evidence of Claudius, and in any case is not really inconsistent with it, for Philo, *Leg.*, 22, 150, 151 shows that *Σεβαστεῖον* and *Καισαρεῖον* were synonymous, so that Pliny's 'Caesaris templum' is merely a loose equivalent of the latter word. Néroutsos-Bey, *L'ancienne Alexandrie*, p. 16, remarks 'le temple, avec ses deux obélisques, n'était pas dédié à Jules César, mais à Auguste et à ses successeurs, qui étaient tous adorés collectivement sous l'invocation de *dieux Césars*, *θεῶν Καισάρων*', and this no doubt explains the double name; cf. the Hamburg fragment published by P. M. Meyer, *Z. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, xxxv (1918), 93 ff., *Και*]*σαρεῖον θεῶν Σεβα*[*στῶν*. For the position of the temple see Strabo, xvii, 9 (794); Pliny, *l. c.*; Philo, *l. c.* The last-named gives the fullest account of it: *οὐδὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τέμενος, οἷον τὸ λεγόμενον Σεβαστεῖον, ἐπιβατηρίου Καίσαρος νεώς,* ⟨*ὃς*⟩ *ἀντικρὺ τῶν εὐορμοτάτων λιμένων μετέωρος ἵδρυται μέγιστος καὶ ἐπιφανέστατος καὶ οἷος οὐχ ἑτέρωθι κατάπλεως ἀναθημάτων,* [*ἐν*] *γραφαῖς καὶ ἀνδριάσι καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ περιβεβλημένος ἐν κύκλῳ· τέμενος εὐρύτατον στοαῖς, βιβλιοθήκαις, ἀνδρῶσιν, ἄλσεσι, προπυλαίοις, εὐρυχωρίαις, ὑπαίθροις, ἅπασι τοῖς εἰς πολυτελέστατον κόσμον ἠσκημένον, ἐλπὶς καὶ ἀναγομένοις καὶ καταπλέουσι σωτήριος.* Athanasius, *Hist. Ar.* 56, mentions *τοὺς κηπευομένους ἐν τῷ Καισαρείῳ τόπους*, evidently ornamental gardens.

61. *Κανόπωι*: this evidence for a *Σεβαστεῖον* at Canopus seems to be new; Canopus does not appear in Blumenthal's list in *Archiv*, v, 322 (cf. too P. Ryl. ii, 133, 2, n., and the list of P. M. Meyer, *Z. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, xxxv, 1918, 95[21]).

62–6. The interpretation and readings adopted in the text and translation are due to Prof. Hunt. To suppose (as the editor had at first done) that the *υ* in l. 63 was deleted with the intention (inadvertently not carried out) of correcting it to *οὐ*, thus making Claudius

reject the proposal of the Alexandrines, is much less likely, for *πάνυ*, placed where it is, would not go well with *οὐ καλῶς*. The passage is a new and valuable piece of evidence with regard to the *ἀρχαί*, about which, in the Greek cities, we know singularly little, but it must be confessed that its testimony is not unambiguous. To begin with, Claudius does not definitely say whether the proposal he approves of is that the magistracies should or should not be triennial. On this point, however, there can be little doubt; the obvious interpretation is that the *τριετία* is now being introduced. Apart from other considerations Prof. Hunt points out that if a proposal for a *τριετία* had been rejected by the Alexandrines we should expect *μή*. But it is not so clear whether the term was being lengthened or shortened. The clause ⟨*οἱ*⟩ *γὰρ* ⟨*ἄρ*⟩*χοντες κτλ.* naturally implies the latter; for it seems reasonable to suppose that the nearer the expected *εὐθύνη* the greater would be the *φόβος* and therefore the motive for being *μέτριος*. There is, indeed, evidence which makes against this, viz. an inscription of the Ptolemaic period in *Archiv*, v, 162, where a Hephaestion son of Herodes, called *Ἀρσινοεύς*, is described as *γυμνασιαρχήσας τὸ κθ* (*ἔτος*). The provenance is unknown, nor is the deme securely localized, but there is ground for supposing (see Rubensohn, *ad loc.*) that it was one of the Alexandrian demes, and though it is not impossible that an Alexandrian citizen resident in the *χώρα* might be gymnasiarch in some nome-capital, it is more natural to refer his office to Alexandria. But the expression *γυμνασιαρχήσας τὸ κθ* (*ἔτος*) should imply an annual office, so that if the inscription is to be referred to Alexandria it may be argued that in the Ptolemaic period annual tenure was the rule in that city, as it was in most places (see Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, vii, 1992 f.). On the other hand P. Oxy. xii, 1418, 15 furnishes evidence that the gymnasiarchy was then (A. D. 247) held for more than one year (see too Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 320, 363), and Grenfell and Hunt suggest in the note *ad loc.* that the term may be 'three or more'. This is at Oxyrhynchus, not Alexandria, but it is not unlikely that the nome-capitals would model their practice on that of the latter.

The clause referred to, however, is very difficult to explain if the term of office was being extended. The inscription in *Archiv*, v is a very uncertain basis, since it may not refer to Alexandria at all, and in any case it is not a necessary inference from *τὸ κθ* (*ἔτος*) that the office was annual (see now E. Breccia, *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, N. S., v, 123 f.); it may perhaps merely mean that this was the man's 29th year of office, and the case was probably an exceptional one; he may even have been gymnasiarch for life. Hence it is best to conclude that the term till the reign of Claudius was more than three years (or was it perhaps unlimited?) and was then reduced to three.

71. *ἀρχήν*: note that the *βουλή* is here referred to as an *ἀρχή*.

73. *ἀληθές*: or possibly *ἀλεθές* (*sic*).

74. *πολέμου*: cf. Philo, *Leg.*, 17, 119 (M. 562), *μέγιστος οὖν καὶ ἀκήρυκτος πόλεμος ἐπὶ τῷ ἔθνει συνεκροτεῖτο*. This use of the word shows that Wilcken's reliance on its occurrence in the 'Paulus and Antoninus *Acta*' to connect the events there referred to with the Jewish revolt under Trajan (*Antisemitismus*, p. 814) is unjustified; cf. v. Premerstein, *Hermes*, lvii, 287 f.

75. *ἐξ ἀντικαταστάσεως*: we must understand something like *πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους*; cf. Polyb., iv, 47, 4: *ἐκ τῆς ἀντικαταστάσεως τῆς γενομένης . . . πρὸς τοὺς τῶν Ῥοδίων πρεσβευτάς*; Dittenberger, *Syll. Inscr. Gr.*[3] 785, 7–9: *ὕστερον δὲ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐξ ἀντικα[τα]στάσεως . . . διή[κου]σα*.

76. *Διονυσίου τοῦ Θέων[ο]ς*: this name does not occur in the list given in ll. 16–20, but the person meant is no doubt C. Julius Dionysius (l. 17), though it is strange that his father's name is here inserted. For the omission of the nomen and praenomen cf. l. 105, and for the insertion of a patronymic even in the case of a Roman citizen, l. 19 (see, however, note there).

77. *ταμιευόμενος*: cf. l. 22. On this passage see the Addenda.

80. *αὐθάδιον*: an unrecorded and not very likely adjective. Prof. Stuart Jones therefore suggests ⟨*καὶ*⟩ *αὐθαδίαν*, as translating *et contumaciam*, and this may be the correct text, but if so we must suppose a double error, for *-ιον* is certain. For *αὐθαδία* see Moulton and Milligan, *s. v. αὐθάδης*.

85 f. Attacks on the synagogues played a prominent part in the disturbance under Gaius.

86. *λοιμένωνται*: this is the word used by Philo, *Leg.*, 20, 134 (M. 565): *προσευχὰς ὅσας μὴ ἐδυνήθησαν ἐμπρήσεσι καὶ κατασκαφαῖς ἀφανίσαι . . . ἕτερον τρόπον ἐλυμήναντο μετὰ τῆς τῶν νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν ἀνατροπῆς*.

ἔθεσιν: the word has almost a technical sense in relation to the Jews; cf. the passage just quoted; Joseph., *Ant.*, xix, 283: ἐμμένοντας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθεσι (so too *ibid.*, 285); Philo, *Leg.*, 16, 115 (M. 562): τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων καὶ ἔτι τῶν ἀγράφων ἐθῶν; &c.

92. ἐπισπαίρειν: the reading is not quite certain; the lower part of the downstroke of ρ has almost wholly disappeared, and the following ε is inferred only from a horizontal stroke; but (given the certain σπ) no other word seems likely and ιρ is a perfectly possible reading. The word is translated by Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, 'subsulto, velut ab animi deliquio, palpitabundus', by L. and S. 'to be in alarm', and this is the meaning required in the passage they refer to, Plut., *Mor.*, 327 c, ἔτι (so Reiske for MS. ἐπί) τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς πολέμοις ἐπέσπαιρεν ἡ Ἑλλάς, but it is not very appropriate here. The sense adopted depends on the meaning given to ἀγῶσει. If, as first taken, it refers to contests in the elections to these offices, we want a sense like 'to aspire to'; but Prof. Hunt points out that it is strange in that case to single out only the gymnasiarchy and cosmeteia. He prefers therefore to take the ἄγωνες in the ordinary sense of athletic contests. This is certainly better, but even so ἐπισπαίρειν is unexpected. Perhaps 'to strive in' is not too far removed from the attested sense.

94. ἀπολάοντας: for the dropping of υ in the diphthong αυ see Mayser, *Gramm. gr. Pap.*, p. 114. But the phenomenon is probably commoner in the Roman than in the Ptolemaic period.

101. πραότητος: or perhaps πρεότητος (*sic*).

103 f. τὴν ἀνατάτωι . . . ὑπαρχούσης: the interpretation adopted in the translation and critical notes is due to Prof. Hunt. It is possible that τήν should be corrected to τῆς, taking τῆς ἀν⟨ω⟩τάτω with οἰκ⟨ε⟩ίας rather than (as in the text) with πρόνοιαν, but this, though it improves the style, is not absolutely necessary; indeed, the omission of τῆς before καθάπερ to connect οἰκ⟨ε⟩ίας with πόλεως may be a sign of translation from a Latin original; see introduction. For similar instances see Lafoscade, *De Epistulis*, pp. 92 ff.

II. THE MELETIAN SCHISM

The Meletian schism of Egypt,[1] though at first sight of only local and minor importance as compared with the Arian controversy, is of great interest for the historian of Christian Egypt, and the eventual alliance of the Meletians with the Arians, exercising as it did a decisive influence on the fortunes of St. Athanasius, gives the schism considerable significance even for the student of general ecclesiastical history. Our evidence concerning its origin is fragmentary and, at first sight, conflicting. The primary authorities are (1) the writings of St. Athanasius; (2) Latin translations of two letters (i) from four Egyptian Bishops to Meletius, (ii) from Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, to his flock, together with (iii) an account of the circumstances, the whole forming a fragment of an anonymous ecclesiastical chronicle or collection of documents, all first edited by Maffei and re-edited, e. g., in M. J. Routh's *Reliquiae Sacrae*, ed. altera, iv, 91–4; Migne, *P.G.*, x, 1565–8, xviii, 509–10 (cf. P. Batiffol, *Byz. Z.*, x, 131–2); (3) the Canons of Peter, Bishop of Alexandria (Routh, *Rel. sacrae*, iv, 23 ff.; Migne, *P.G.*, xviii, 468 ff.); (4) Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.*, lxviii (Migne, *P.G.*, xlii, 184–201). Athanasius, as an uncompromising opponent of the Meletians, is of value chiefly for his chronological evidence; his statement (*Apol. c. Ar.*, 59) that Meletius was deposed by Peter for many irregularities 'and for sacrificing' [to idols] need not be taken very seriously, for the accusation was one that came readily to controversialists on the morrow of a great persecution.[2] The documents referred to under (2)[3] are, on the contrary, of fundamental importance, and Epiphanius, though he wrote later than Athanasius, had excellent authority, probably in part that of Egyptian Bishops banished to Palestine.[4] The situation described by Epiphanius is entirely different from that presupposed by the documents of (2), but it is easy to reconcile them if we suppose them to present different stages in the growth of the schism. The combination made by Schwartz and Duchesne probably gives the correct sequence; Achelis, less convincingly, adopts the reverse order.

The schism had no doctrinal origin, but arose out of a dispute which broke out during the Great Persecution, probably in A. D. 305, among the Christian

[1] To be distinguished from the later Meletian schism at Antioch, which had no connexion with it. Among recent authorities may be cited: H. Achelis, in Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyklopädie für prot. Theol. u. Kirche*, xii, 558–62, xxiv, 83; E. Schwartz, *G. G. N.*, 1905, 164–87; L. Duchesne, *Hist. anc. de l'église*, ii, 3rd ed., 97–100; F. J. Foakes-Jackson, in J. Hastings, *Enc. of Rel. and Ethics*, viii, 538.

[2] Cf. the similar Donatist accusation against Pope Marcellinus (Duchesne, ii, 93 f.).

[3] O. Seeck, *Z. f. Kirchengesch.*, xvii (1896–7), 66–7, pronounces these documents forgeries, but his arguments are quite unconvincing, and their authenticity is now almost universally accepted, e. g. by Schwartz, *G. G. N.*, 1904, 389; Duchesne, ii, 99; Achelis, *op. cit.*, xii, 561; &c. See S. Rogala, *Die Anfänge des arianischen Streites.*

[4] See Schwartz, *G. G. N.*, 1905, 165.

prisoners, no doubt at Alexandria, concerning a question of church discipline, the treatment of the *lapsi*. Peter, the Bishop of Alexandria, represented the milder, Meletius,[1] Bishop of Lycopolis, the more rigid school. Neither party proposed to exclude the *lapsi* permanently from communion, neither thought of re-admitting them unconditionally; it was merely a question of the interval to be allowed before re-admission and the status to be accorded after it.[2] But as neither party would give way the dispute ended in a schism, though we may infer from the letter of the four Bishops, who address Meletius as 'dilecto et comministro in Domino', that it did not at first amount to a complete severance of relations. Shortly after the outbreak of the quarrel Meletius and Peter appear to have been set at liberty, probably on the temporary cessation of the persecution; but when it broke out again Meletius, anxious, it would seem, to extend his own following, took it on himself to enter the dioceses of four Bishops who were then in prison and undertake ordinations. The Bishops protested in the letter referred to (2, i above), but Meletius disregarded their remonstrances, and later on, the Bishops having been martyred, probably in 306,[3] he went down to Alexandria, where, finding that Peter was in hiding, he proceeded to excommunicate various priests and visitors. Peter thereupon wrote to his flock bidding them to hold Meletius excommunicate. At a later date Meletius was arrested and banished, with several of his followers, to the mines of Palestine, where he remained till the edict of toleration promulgated by Galerius in 311. The persecution was renewed by Maximinus very soon after Galerius's death, and one of the first victims was Bishop Peter, who was martyred on 25 Nov., 311. The schism continued even among the exiles in Palestine; the two parties held no communication with each other, and Meletius ordained Bishops and priests of his own sect, which assumed the title 'Church of the Martyrs'.[4] So too, after Peter's death, the Meletians maintained their own organization, though under the episcopate of Alexander relations between the two parties were apparently not entirely hostile. So at least we may infer from the fact that it was Meletius who called Alexander's attention to the heretical nature of the doctrines expounded by Arius;[5] though it may well be that his chief motive in so doing was, on the one hand, to take vengeance on Arius, a former adherent, now reconciled to the Catholic party, and, on the other, to embarrass Alexander,[6] who showed little eagerness to take action against his heretical presbyter.

The Council of Nicaea, called together primarily to deal with the Arian question, considered also the Meletian schism, deciding that Meletius should continue to bear the title of Bishop, though without exercising the duties of the office, and that those ordained by him should be re-ordained and retain their

[1] The correct form is undoubtedly Μελίτιος (see, e.g., Schwartz, *G. G. N.*, 1905, 164[1]). **1914**, 20, though Callistus is not a conclusive authority on orthography, offers further confirmation of this. But the form Meletius, since it has everywhere established itself, is retained for convenience.

[2] This fact, somewhat obscured in Epiphanius's account, is rendered certain by the Canons of Peter; see Schwartz, *G. G. N.*, 1905, 172–3.

[3] Schwartz, *G. G. N.*, 1905, 177, as against Seeck, *Z. f. Kirchengesch.*, xvii, 67.

[4] Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.*, lxviii, 3.

[5] Epiphanius, lxviii, 4.

[6] Cf. Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 59: διέβαλε . . . Ἀλέξανδρον.

rank and functions. What was the attitude of Athanasius to this decision at the time we do not know, but he keenly regretted it later,[1] and with reason, for the compromise was a failure. The details of the ensuing events are, however, somewhat uncertain. It has been inferred from Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 59, that Alexander died five months after the Council of Nicaea (325), which is indeed the natural interpretation of Athanasius's words; yet Epiphanius states[2] that he persecuted the Meletians after Meletius's death, which must have occurred after the Council, for Meletius, in accordance with the decision there arrived at, handed Alexander a 'brief' containing the names of the Bishops and certain priests of his schism and personally introduced them to him.[3] Further, the Index to the Festal Letters of Athanasius definitely dates the death of Alexander 17 April, 328, and the accession of Athanasius 8 June of the same year.[4] How are we to reconcile these apparent discrepancies? S. Rogala[5] would apparently reject the testimony of the Index; but though that work contains undoubted errors, due usually to misunderstanding of the Egyptian calendar, there is no other ground for questioning its accuracy here. Seeck[6] and Schwartz[7] suppose that Constantine called a second meeting of the Council to settle the Egyptian troubles, i.e., probably, the Meletian schism, a theory suggested by a passage in Eusebius,[8] while on the other hand Gwatkin[9] prefers to suppose that Athanasius was counting not from the Council itself but from the final reception of the Meletians. In either case there seems little time between the reception and Alexander's death for, first, the death of Meletius, before which he appointed a certain John Archaph as his successor,[10] and, second, such a persecution as Epiphanius speaks of. At all events we may take it that the reception of the Meletians was delayed till 327; very possibly neither Alexander nor Meletius was particularly anxious to carry out the Nicene decision. On the news that Meletius, notwithstanding his recent submission, had before his death appointed a successor, thus perpetuating the schism, Alexander may have resolved on more drastic measures against the Meletians, measures which it perhaps fell to his

[1] *Apol. c. Ar.*, 71: ὅτε Μελίτιος ὑπεδέχθη, ὡς μήποτ' ὄφελον, κτλ.; cf. § 59: οἱ δὲ Μελιτιανοὶ ὑπωσδήποτε ἐδέχθησαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον νῦν τὴν αἰτίαν ὀνομάζειν. Schwartz goes too far in concluding (*G. G. N.*, 1911, 370) on the strength of the last sentence that the decision was taken 'sicherlich unter dem Druck des Kaiserlichen Willens'.

[2] *Adv. Haer.*, lxviii, 5: Ἀλέξανδρος . . . μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν Μελητίου . . . πάντη τοὺς ἰδίᾳ συνάγοντας, ὑπὸ δὲ Μελητίου καταλειφθέντας, ἐδόκει ταράσσειν τε καὶ συνέχειν βιάζεσθαί τε.

[3] Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 71–2.

[4] Migne, *P. G.*, xxvi, 1351; cf. Lauchert, note 63, p. 149.

[5] p. 80[1].

[6] *Z. f. Kirchengesch.*, xvii, 69 f.

[7] *G. G. N.*, 1911, 380 ff.

[8] *Vita Const.*, iii, 23: ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἁπάντων εἰρηνευομένων, μόνοις Αἰγυπτίοις ἄμικτος ἦν ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονεικία, ὡς καὶ αὖθις ἐνοχλεῖν βασιλέα, οὐ μὴν καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐγείρειν. Οἷα γοῦν πατέρας ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον προφήτας θεοῦ πάσῃ περιέπων τιμῇ καὶ δεύτερον ἐκάλει καὶ πάλιν ἐμεσίτευε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀνεξικάκως, καὶ δώροις ἐτίμα πάλιν, ἐδήλου τε τὴν δίαιταν δι' ἐπιστολῆς. Rogala rejects this theory (p. 80[1]) on the ground 'dass dort nur von ägyptischen Bischöfen die Rede ist', which is a rather questionable assertion.

[9] *Studies of Arianism*, p. 66[1].

[10] Sozomen, ii, 21: μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ [after the handing over of the Meletian churches] μέλλων τὸν βίον καταλιμπάνειν, Ἰωάννην τινὰ τῶν αὐτῷ συνήθων, παρὰ τὸ δόγμα τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου, κατέστησεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ.

successor to carry out; but it is also conceivable that Epiphanius, a notoriously muddle-headed writer, confused the disputes between Alexander and the Meletians revealed by Eusebius with a later persecution of the Meletians by Athanasius.

However this may be, it is clear that the truce was of very brief duration, and on the death of Alexander the Meletians appear to have opposed the election of Athanasius[1], the validity of which they certainly impugned at a later date. The persecution of the sect, whether by Alexander or by Athanasius, led to their sending a deputation to the Emperor to lay before him their grievances. Epiphanius names as the leaders John [Archaph], Callinicus, Bishop of Pelusium, and a confessor named Paphnutius.[2] The deputation was, however, refused access to Constantine, and after hanging about Constantinople and Nicomedia for some time struck up an alliance with the party of Eusebius of Nicomedia, which, Arian in sympathy though outwardly accepting the Nicene creed, was bitterly hostile to Athanasius.[3] Cynical as this alliance of the ultra-orthodox Meletians with the heretical Eusebians may have been, it proved very dangerous and led ultimately to Athanasius's first exile. At first no doubt the alliance was purely political[4], but close and constant association could hardly fail to produce a tendency to Arianism among the Meletians, and this is expressly asserted by Sozomen, who says that in course of time the Arians were popularly called Meletians in Egypt.[5]

During the later stages of the Arian controversy the Meletians played a quite secondary part. A number of them made their peace with the Catholics and appeared thenceforth among the partisans of Athanasius,[6] their leader John Archaph was banished by Constantine after the Synod of Tyre in 335,[7] and it is clear that after his return from his second, and indeed probably his first, exile, Athanasius had the great body of the Egyptian Christians behind him. Yet the Meletians continued to maintain their existence as a distinct sect. For the fourth century this is abundantly clear from the writings of Athanasius and the historians.[8] In the fifth century they were known to Theodoret, who speaks of

[1] On this question see Lauchert, pp. 30–2; Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, p. 66[2].

[2] *Adv. Haer.*, lxviii, 5.

[3] Epiphanius, lxviii, 6; Socr., i, 27; Sozomen, ii, 21.

[4] Cf. Schwartz, *G. G. N.*, 1911, 371 f. Athanasius more than once clearly distinguishes between the standpoints of the two parties, e.g. *Ep. ad Episc. Aeg. et Lib.*, 22: Μελιτιανοὶ μὲν διὰ τὴν προστασίαν καὶ τὴν μανίαν τῆς φιλαργυρίας, Ἀρειομανῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀσέβειαν; *ibid.*: οἱ μὲν . . . σχισματικοὶ γεγόνασιν, οἱ δὲ . . . ἀπεδείχθησαν αἱρετικοί.

[5] ii, 21. Athanasius's authority on such a point is not of the best, but reference may be made to his *Hist. Ar.*, 78: προθύμως γοῦν καὶ ταχέως ἐκ Μελιτιανῶν Ἀρειανοὶ γεγόνασιν. Cf. too the statements of Theodoret quoted below, and Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.*, lxviii, 6.

[6] See Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, p. 71[1].

[7] Sozomen, ii, 31.

[8] Besides these Mr. Crum calls attention to a passage in *Apophth. Patrum* (Migne, *P. G.*, lxv, 405, $\overline{\mu\eta}$): ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ Μελιτιανοί, οἰκοῦντες ἐν τῷ Καλαμῶνι τοῦ Ἀρσινοΐτου. It is to be noted that they are here called αἱρετικοί. A further reference, also pointed out by Mr. Crum, occurs in the Coptic life of Pamin (ed. Amélineau, *Mém. de la miss. arch. française*, iv, 740): 'L'autre était un schismatique (σχισματικός) abominable (κυκλευτής, *vagabond*) de l'hérésie (αἵρεσις) des Mélétiens.' The Meletian church is said to have been 'près du tétrapyle de la ville'; there was also a convent to the east of the town, and there

communities of Meletian monks as still existing in Egypt; he states that 'they do not accept sound doctrine, and in their way of life they follow vain practices concordant with the infatuations of the Samaritans and Jews'.[1] This is interesting, as tending to confirm what was said above regarding the heretical tendency of the later Meletians. Further evidence on this point is furnished by a Coptic text in Crum., *Catal.*, no. 358, which is from an Encomium on the martyr Claude by Constantine, Bishop of Asiut, a younger contemporary of the Patriarch Damian (died A.D. 605); according to Crum 'the feature of the Melitian heresy here cited is their division of the persons of the Trinity.'[2]

Several modern authorities[3] state or imply that the sect did not last beyond the fifth century, but this is an error, and it can be traced for at least three centuries later. In the year 512 we find[4] a certain Eulogius, described as *μονάζων ποτὲ μὲν* Μελιτιανός, *νῦν δὲ ὀρτόδοξος* (*sic*), selling to a Meletian priest (*Ποῦσι πρεσβυτέρῳ* Μελιτιανῷ) a 'monastery' (probably only a complex of cells) at Labla near Arsinoe; and the same person negotiated a similar sale in the following year to two Meletian monks from the monastery of Labla.[5] Mr. Crum further calls attention to three Coptic references. In P. Morgan MS. no. xxxvii, f. 139 b, in the Life of Apollo, who was driven by Justinian from the Pachomian monastery of Pboou, it is stated that Meletians existed (*χρηματίζειν*) in the district of Heracleopolis at that time. In the (Arabic) Patriarchal History the writer of the life of Damian (A.D. 569–605) mentions (*P.O.*, i, 473) in connexion with the four monasteries of Wadi Habib, that 'there were among them the Meletians, I mean the followers of Meletius, who used to receive the Chalice many times in the night, before they came to the church'. These Meletians Damian, when he 'was counted worthy to sit upon the evangelical throne', ordered to be banished. Thirdly, a reference to Meletians as still existing occurs in a sermon of the Patriarch Benjamin (d. 659), published by H. de Vis.[6] But there is an even later reference in the Patriarchal History. It is stated of the Patriarch Michael I (A.D. 744–68) that he tried to convert 'the followers of

were one hundred and fifty of the sect. In the Coptic text Pamin is the successor of Matthew the Poor, whom the Patriarchal History places early in the eighth century (*P. O.*, v, 79), but the synaxarium (9 Kihak, *P. O.*, iii, 412 f.) makes him a confessor, who lived into the reign of Constantine. Mr. Crum suggests that two men of the name have been confused, the confessor of Ashmunên being the opponent of the Meletians, the later being located much further south (at Esne).

[1] *H. E.*, i, 9, 14: *οὔτε τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσι πειθόμενα δόγμασι καὶ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν κενοῖς τισὶν ἐπιτηδεύμασι κεχρημένα, τῇ Σαμαρειτῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων φρενοβλαβείᾳ συμβαίνοντα.* Cf. Socr., i, 9 (Migne, *P. G.*, lxvii, 84): *ἄχρι νῦν κεχωρίσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ* Μελιτιανούς. Theodoret, *Haer. Fab. Comp.*, iv, 7, gives further interesting details as to the practices of the Meletians, stating also that they had adopted Arianism when it was patronized by the Emperor, but now claimed to have abandoned it.

[2] Constantine here mentions that the Meletians flourished at that time in Asiut. The Encomium is contained in P. Morgan MS. no. xlvii (Crum).

[3] J. M. Fuller, in W. Smith and H. Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.*, iii, 891; F. J. Foakes-Jackson, in J. Hastings, *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*, viii, 538; H. Leclercq, *Cath. Encycl.*, x, 165.

[4] SB. 5174.

[5] SB. 5175: *ἀμφοτέροις* Μελιτιανοῖς *μονάζουσιν μοναστηρίου καλουμένου Λάβλα προαστίων τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀρσινοειτῶν πόλεως.*

[6] *Coptica*, i, *Homélies coptes de la Vaticane*, p. 65.

Meletius', but failed, 'for they denied that they were heretics, and they remained dissidents, some of them in the monasteries and some in the deserts'; upon which, in consequence of the Patriarch's prayers, 'the Lord destroyed them . . . and at the monastery wherein there were three thousand persons, there no longer remained any save ten souls, who were believers and did not walk in their path'.[1] We may probably conclude that the sect died out finally during the eighth century.

On a schism which lasted so long and, in its earlier stages, played so important a part in the history of the Church any fresh light is welcome; and the papyri which follow are the more valuable because they come from the Meletian side. They were acquired on two occasions, in 1922 and 1923, each time as part of a quite miscellaneous collection, but their mutual connexion is undoubted. With one certain and one doubtful exception all are letters addressed to (or written by; see **1921**, intr.) a certain Apa Paiêous, whether individually or in common with others. Of the two exceptions, one (**1913**) is a contract, the other (**1922**) a Coptic letter in which the name of Paiêous, if it ever occurred, is lost. The letters are all undated, but **1913** bears a date corresponding to the year 334, and **1914** can, on internal grounds, be dated with practical certainty in either 334 or 335, more probably the latter. There are no grounds, palaeographical or otherwise, which make it necessary to separate the other papyri very widely from these two, and probably the whole collection dates from the decennium 330–40.

Paiêous (Παιηοῦς, gen. Παιηοῦτος; also Παιηοῦ, indeclinable) was, as the prefix 'Apa' shows, a priest, and he is so addressed more than once. In the address of **1920** he is given the further title of ὁμολογητής ('Confessor'), which implies that he had suffered in the Great Persecution; for it is very improbable that the title Confessor, hallowed by long association with the pagan persecutions, would at this period be used with reference to any sufferings that Paiêous may have endured at the hands of the Catholic party. We may infer, therefore, that he was already a man of at least middle age, and this supposition is borne out by the great respect with which his correspondents treat him. From **1921**, 32, it appears likely that his father's name was Dicaeus. He was clearly the head, or one of the heads, of a large Meletian community. On the question where this community was to be looked for the letters first acquired threw no light except such as could be obtained from the uncertain evidence of personal names, one or two place-names referred to in the letters, and the dialect of the only Coptic letter (**1920**) included in the purchase of 1922. On these grounds it had been concluded that the locality was either in Middle Egypt, perhaps in the district between Ashmunên and Asiut, or, less probably, in the neighbourhood of the Heracleopolite nome. Fortunately the papyri acquired in 1923 contain evidence which decides the question. In the Coptic letter **1920** just referred to Paiêous is addressed as 'Paeiêw of P-hathôr'. So far as this passage goes in itself, it is not clear whether P-hathôr is a place-name or a personal name ('[son of] P-hathôr'),[2] but **1913**, which indeed does not contain the name of Paiêous but clearly belongs to the Meletian archive, is a contract between a priest of Hipponon

[1] *P. O.*, v, 198–9.

[2] Πατώλ or Πατώρ, the name of a γῆδιον in **1419**, may be, like many such names, that of a former owner.

in the Heracleopolite nome and the προεστῶτες of the μονή of Ἄθορ 'in the eastern desert of the Upper Cynopolite nome'. There can be no doubt that Ἄθορ in **1913** is the same name as πρατρωρ in **1920**, and it is thus established that Paiêous's settlement was situated in the Upper Cynopolite nome.[1] The many names which occur in the correspondence and particularly the long list of greetings in **1914** suggest that the settlement was a populous one. The correspondence also contains evidence of other Meletian communities. In **1917** reference is made to one in the 'Island of Memphis', and the writer of that letter asks that letters may be written on his behalf to all the cells in the 'Upper Country', by which is presumably meant the Thebaid. Among other places referred to are Terôt (**1914**, 57), probably one of the places so named in Middle Egypt, perhaps the modern Derût esh-Sherîf; Tamourô (**1914**, 58) in the Heracleopolite nome; Tôhe (**1920**, 6), probably the place so called near Hermopolis; and Antaeopolis (**1918**, 9). The second at all events was apparently the site of a Meletian settlement.

The letters further give us some insight into the life of the Meletian monks. It may be noted in the first place that the community was largely Coptic in race. Many of the persons mentioned have Egyptian names, three of the letters are in Coptic, while **1915** has a Coptic endorsement, and the Greek is mostly of a vulgar kind. **1917** is interesting for its references to the system of intercessory prayers, apparently well organized; **1915** and **1916** show us how the community looked after any brother who might fall into distress; **1920** and **1922** give us some hints as to the industrial life of a Meletian settlement; and **1918** illustrates at least one of the methods by which the monks were provisioned. It is, however, in two documents which open up wider historical vistas that the exceptional value of this collection lies. The questions which they raise are dealt with in the introductions to the documents themselves; here it is sufficient to say that one of them, **1913**, contains precious evidence concerning the Synod of Caesarea in A.D. 334, and that the other, **1914**, is even more important for the information it gives on the events at Alexandria immediately before the Synod of Tyre. The latter document is the more valuable because, coming from the Meletian side, it supplements the biased and partial evidence of the Catholic tradition, on which, in the main, historians have hitherto had perforce to depend. It may well be that other letters from the archive have been found and will yet come on to the market, and they may contain further historical material. If so, it is much to be hoped that they will be published as soon as possible.

This suggests the question whether any documents from the Meletian archive can be recognized among papyri already published. A possible instance is P. Amh. 145 (= Ghedini 41), to which attention was drawn by Mr. Crum in connexion with the correspondence of Paphnutius, published below. In general appearance, so far as can be gathered from the photograph, this is not unlike one or two of the letters addressed to Paphnutius, and a Παπνούθης is mentioned in it (l. 26); but there seems no sufficient reason for connecting it with the Paphnutius of the present volume. It is, however, not impossible that it has some

[1] In Meletius's brief (Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 71) is named Κολλοῦθος ἐν τῇ ἄνω Κυνῷ.

connexion with our Meletian community. The writer is Apa Johannes and the recipient Paul. An Apa Johannes is mentioned in **1914**, 34, but he is probably to be identified with John Archaph, who is not very likely to have signed a letter in Coptic, as does the writer of Amh. 145. Paul, an *ἀναγνώστης*, is, however, mentioned in **1914**, 59; a Paul, *πρεσβύτερος ἀπὸ Τηένεως*, occurs in **1917**, 11; and in **1919**, 25 *ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος* sends greetings. There are in the present correspondence at least two persons, and possibly more, called *Παπνούτιος*, and in one letter the name has the form *Παπνούθης* (**1918**, 7, 8) seen in Amh. 145, 26. A Hierax, with or without the honorific *ἄπα* indicating that he was a priest, occurs several times in our correspondence, and recalls the Hierax who was the bearer of Amh. 145. Lastly, the Coptic signature to that letter is of some significance, as compared with the three Coptic letters of our collection and the Coptic endorsement of **1915**. No doubt, however, these evidences are very slight, and certainty is hardly attainable.

Even more doubt exists with regard to another possible connexion, also suggested by Mr. Crum. This is the group of Coptic letters in the Rylands collection referred to in the introduction to **1920**. There are one or two names common to the two collections, but these are not sufficiently infrequent to have much weight, and the rarer names of the present collection, in particular that of Paiêous, the centre of our correspondence, are not found in the Rylands group. The dialect too of the latter would point to a locality south of Ashmunên. It is possible enough that some or all of the Rylands letters are Meletian and even that one or two of the names referred to in both groups may be those of identical persons, but on this point there are really no grounds for decision.

PAPYRUS **1913**.—19 March, A.D. 334.

Inv. No. 2543. 22·5 × 33·8 cm.

Acquired in 1923. Light brown papyrus (except on the left, in the upper part, where the tint is darker) of rather coarse quality. Worm-eaten in places, a good deal damaged at top and bottom and badly rubbed, particularly in the lower part, where the ink has often entirely disappeared. Written in a medium-sized, regular, sloping, somewhat laterally compressed cursive hand, along the fibres, in black ink.

This and the following papyrus are distinguished among the others because they deal with affairs of wider historical importance than the local affairs of the Meletian community at Hathor. **1913** is a contract made between a priest named Pageus and the monastery of Hathor. It is described at the conclusion as *τὸ τῆς καταστάσεως γραμμάτιον*; more briefly we might perhaps call it, on the analogy of the earlier *συστατικόν* (e.g. P. Lond. ined. Inv. No. 1966) a *καταστατικόν*. That is to say, it is a contract for the appointment of a deputy. Pageus had been summoned by Constantine to attend the Synod of Caesarea, and he here agrees with the Priors (*προεστῶτες*) of the monastery that his brother Gerontius shall take his place and discharge his functions during his absence.

The contract is thus, even from the juristic point of view, of some interest, but its main importance comes from its connexion with the Synod of Caesarea, an event concerning which our information is scanty. A brief account of its antecedents will perhaps be useful.

After the failure of the first Eusebian attack on Athanasius, which took the form of a demand for the admission of Arius and his followers to communion, supported, on Athanasius's first refusal, by a threatening letter from the Emperor, whom however Athanasius persuaded to waive the order, the Meletians brought forward an accusation that he had imposed an unauthorized tax in kind (*στιχάρια λινᾶ*). Certain presbyters of Athanasius, who were opportunely at court, were able to dispose of this charge, and Constantine administered a reproof to the Meletians but summoned Athanasius to court—Athanasius does not say why, and the letter which he quoted has disappeared from the text of the *Apol. c. Ar.* (§ 60). On his arrival Athanasius found himself confronted with two fresh charges, one concerning the breaking of a chalice by his presbyter Macarius (see below), and one of conspiracy against Constantine. The Emperor acquitted him on both counts and wrote to the Alexandrines a letter on his behalf. He arrived home some time after Easter, 332.[1] He was not long left in peace. The Meletians and their allies the Eusebians soon brought two charges against him, one new, the other already examined by Constantine. This second was to the effect that a priest named Macarius sent by Athanasius to summon Ischyras, a schismatic priest (one of those ordained by Colluthus), had, in an altercation with him, broken a sacred chalice. (The story grew in course of time; in the letter of the Oriental Council of Sardica Athanasius is accused of having personally broken the chalice, smashed the altar, overturned the priest's chair, and demolished the church![2]) The other charge was one of having murdered a certain Arsenius, Bishop of Hypsele. The Ischyras case, as already settled, Constantine declined to reopen, but he ordered the censitor Dalmatius to try the other.[3] Lauchert[4] appears to take the Synod of Caesarea as the direct result of this command, but Athanasius's words,[5] especially when combined with Sozomen's narrative,[6] make this supposition unlikely, and it is better to separate the Synod from the first exposure of Arsenius.[7]

Athanasius, summoned to appear before the court, set his clergy to work and succeeded in tracing Arsenius first to the monastery of Ptemencyrcis in the Thebaid and finally to Tyre. Arsenius at first denied his identity but on being brought before the Bishop of Tyre he confessed the deceit and made his peace with Athanasius. John Archaph also apologized to Constantine, who commended him for so doing and summoned him to court.[8] The truce was, however, of very brief duration, and the charges were soon set afoot once more. It is rather hard to believe that after their signal defeat the Eusebian-Meletian coalition merely reiterated the two accusations already exposed. Athanasius

[1] See the fourth Paschal letter, Migne, *P. G.*, xxvi, 1379.

[2] Hilary of Poictiers, iv, p. 53.

[3] Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 65. [4] p. 43.

[5] *Apol. c. Ar.*, 65: *γράφει δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν Δαλματίῳ τῷ κήνσωρι ἀκοῦσαι τῆς περὶ τοῦ φόνου δίκης.*

[6] ii, 23, 25; cf. Socrates, i, 27, who, however, does not mention the Synod of Caesarea.

[7] So too Schwartz, *G. G. N.*, 1911, 376, though he is wrong as to the date of the Synod of Caesarea; see below.

[8] Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 70.

says nothing of any others, but it appears from Sozomen[1] that Athanasius had already at an earlier period been accused of violence and oppression towards the Meletian party, and similar but more detailed charges were found by the historian[2] in the minutes of the Synod of Tyre. Further evidence of the same kind is contained in the letter of the Oriental Council of Sardica.[3] The last source definitely states that it was on account of such proceedings ('propter haec'; this includes both the chalice incident and the violence towards opponents) that the Synod of Caesarea was summoned. The evidence of **1914** makes it certain that these charges were not baseless, and we are probably justified in assuming that after each frustrated offensive of his enemies Athanasius allowed himself the luxury of reprisals. Hence, while the chalice incident and the case of Arsenius probably figured in the agenda of the Synod of Caesarea, we may take it as beyond question that the charges of persecution and oppression were among the reasons, and were perhaps the principal reason, for the convening of that body.

Athanasius himself nowhere mentions the Synod of Caesarea. The few allusions to it elsewhere are as follows:—Sozomen, ii, 25: *Ἀθανασίῳ δὲ πάλιν αἱ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπιβουλαὶ ἀνεκίνουν πράγματα, καὶ μῖσος παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ κατεσκεύαζε, καὶ κατηγόρων ἐπήγειρε πλῆθος. Παρ' ὧν ὀχλούμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς σύνοδον γενέσθαι προσέταξεν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης. Εἰς ἣν κληθεὶς οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, Εὐσεβίου τοῦ τῆδε ἐπισκόπου καὶ τοῦ Νικομηδείας καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς δείσας τὴν σκαιωρίαν. Ἀλλὰ τότε μέν, καίτοι συνελθεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενος, ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα μῆνας ἀνεβάλετο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σφοδρότερον βιασθεὶς ἦκεν εἰς Τύρον. Ibid., ad fin.*: *ἐδήλουν δὲ* [i.e. the Synod of Tyre in a letter to Constantine] *... καθότι, τοῦ βασιλέως προστάξαντος* (Migne -οντος) *ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ συνελθεῖν αὐτοῦ χάριν εἰς Καισάρειαν τοὺς ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑω ἐπισκόπους, οὐκ ἀπήντησεν, ἐπὶ μακρῷ χρόνῳ ταλαιπωρουμένην τὴν σύνοδον ἰδὼν καὶ τῶν τοῦ κρατοῦντος προσταγμάτων καταφρονήσας.* Theodoret, *H.E.*, i, 28, 2–4: *πείθουσι δὴ οὖν* [i.e. the Eusebian party] *τὸν βασιλέα σύνοδον ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἀθροῖσαι, ἔνθα δὴ πλείους ἦσαν οἱ δυσμενεῖς, κἀκεῖσε κριθῆναι κελεῦσαι τὸν Ἀθανάσιον. Πεισθεὶς δὲ ὡς ἱερεῦσιν ὁ βασιλεύς, παντάπασι γὰρ ἠγνόει τά τυρευόμενα, τοῦτο γενέσθαι προσέταξεν. Ἀλλ' ὁ θεῖος Ἀθανάσιος, τὴν τῶν δικαζόντων δυσμένειαν ἐπιστάμενος, οὐχ ἧκεν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον. Ἐντεῦθεν δὴ πλείονα πρόφασιν εἰς συκοφαντίαν λαβόντες, καὶ τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναδεξάμενοι πόλεμον, πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις παρανομίαις τυραννίδος αὐτὸν καὶ θρασύτητος ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγράψαντο· καὶ οὐ πάμπαν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐψεύσθησαν. Ἔκ γὰρ δὴ τῶν εἰρημένων θυμωθεὶς ὁ πραότατος βασιλεὺς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ τὴν ὀργὴν ὑποφαίνων καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὴν Τύρον παρεγγυῶν. Ἐκεῖσε γὰρ προσέταξεν ἀθροισθῆναι τὴν σύνοδον, ὑποπτεύσας, ὡς οἶμαι, τὸν Ἀθανάσιον ὑφορᾶσθαι τὴν Καισαρέων διὰ τὸν ἐκείνης ἡγούμενον.* Festal Index, year 334 (Migne, *P.G.*, xxvi, 1352–3): Hoc anno visitavit [Athanasius] partes inferiores: quo tempore vocatus fuit Caesaream Palaestinae ad synodum, ubi eius inimici fraudulentas machinas struebant; verum ipse insidias praesentiens excusatione usus est, quominus illuc proficisceretur. Letter of Oriental Council of Sardica (Hilary of Poictiers, iv, p. 54): Nam propter haec necessario concilium apud Caesaream Palaestinam primo videtur esse condictum et, cum minime ab ipso vel ab eius satellitibus ad supradictum concilium occurreretur, post alterum annum in Tyro propter eius facinora necessario iterum celebratur.

[1] ii, 22. [2] ii, 25. [3] *Hilary of Poictiers*, iv, p. 53 f.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the Synod was summoned to Caesarea, under the presidency of Eusebius, and that Athanasius declined to attend on the ground that a body so constituted would not be impartial. It also appears clearly that the date was 334. Sozomen indeed, though in the second passage he speaks of the Synod of Caesarea as summoned in the year before that of Tyre, seems to make the interval one of thirty months, and the Festal Index, though it correctly places Caesarea in 334, assigns Tyre to 336, thus giving the same interval of two years. Schwartz concludes that the Synod of Caesarea must have been summoned in February or March of 333,[1] but **1913** proves him wrong. Sozomen's *τριάκοντα μῆνας* must be due either to corruption in the text (λ′ for κ′?) or, perhaps more likely, to the fact that he was counting not from the summons to Caesarea but from that to Antioch, when Constantine instructed Dalmatius to try the case. If the latter suggestion is correct we have an approximate date for the first production of the Arsenius charge.

Constantine, on the receipt of Athanasius's refusal, appears to have recognized the cogency of his plea, but without abandoning the decision to have the charges investigated; and he therefore convened the Synod to Tyre the following year, taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by the celebration of his *Tricennalia* at Jerusalem.

We may now turn to the evidence of **1913**. In the first place it definitely fixes the date of the Synod of Caesarea. It bears a date corresponding to 19 March, 334. As the Imperial letters had already been received, while, on the other hand, it is not likely that the persons summoned, particularly since they belonged to the party which had procured the summoning of the Synod, would lose any time in obeying the Emperor's commands, we may place the actual summons about the middle of February or but little earlier. In a phrase which may embody a quotation from Constantine's letter we are told that the object of the Synod was *πρὸς διάκρισιν περὶ καθαρισμοῦ ⟨τοῦ⟩ ἁγίου Χριστιανικοῦ πλήθους* (? — for the reading see l. 6 f., n.). An indication is further given as to the scale of the Synod: Constantine had summoned *τινὰς τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἑτέρους πολλοὺς καὶ ἐμὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς*. Pageus was a simple village priest, and could not take his seat in the Synod, but he was probably summoned as a witness, one of those *μάρτυρας πολλοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ παρεσκευασμένους ἐκ τῶν τὰ Ἀρείου καὶ Μελιτίου φρονούντων* of whom Sozomen (ii, 25) speaks.

Besides its historical and juristic interest the document has a value for its evidence on Egyptian monasticism, since Pageus specifies the duties which his deputy was to take over. Unfortunately it is precisely this portion of the papyrus which has suffered worst from rubbing, and the text here presented is very imperfect. More can be made out by happy conjecture, but in places the ink has entirely disappeared, and a quite complete text must inevitably be in part merely conjectural. Pageus describes himself merely as *ἀπὸ κώμης Ἱππώνων . . . πρεσβύτερος*, but it is clear from what follows that he was attached to the

[1] *G. G. N.*, 1911, 376[1]. Schwartz's argument is vitiated by two curious blunders. *Post alterum annum* surely means 'next year', not 'two years after', as Schwartz appears to take it; and what justification has he for rendering *ἀπὸ περύσι* 'im vorvorigen Jahr'?

monastery in some capacity.[1] His successor was to προνοῆσαι καὶ διοικεῖν καὶ οἰκονομεῖν all the affairs of the monastery (π[ά]ντα τὰ τῆ⟨ς⟩ μονῆ̣ς πράγματα); but Pageus was hardly an οἰκονόμος, for he apparently states that Gerontius was to appoint the οἰκονόμοι, [κα]θ' ὁμοιότητά μου. The uncertainty of reading makes this last point not wholly certain, but whatever be read in l. 14, it is probable that Pageus had the right of appointing the οἰκονόμοι, and in that case he can hardly have been an οἰκονόμος himself. Possibly he was a διοικητής, for which title see P. Cairo Masp. i, 67021 verso, 16; A. Steinwenter, *Stud. Pal.*, xix, 35.

1 Τ̣π̣α̣τίας Φλ̣α̣υ̣ί[ο]υ̣ Ὀπ̣[τάτου πατ]ρ̣ι̣[κ]ίου καὶ Ἀνικίου Παυλίνου τῶν
2 [Αὐρήλ]ιος Παγεῦς Ὥρου ἀπὸ κώμης Ἱππώνων τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου
νομοῦ πρεσβύτερος ⟨τοῖς προεστῶσ[ι]⟩ μονῆς μονοχῶ̣ν
3 [καλ]ουμ̣ένης Ἄθωρ οὔσης ἐν τῷ ἀπηλιωτικῷ ὄρι τοῦ ἄνω Κυνοπολείτου.
Θείων βασιλικῶν γραμμ̣ά̣τω̣ν ἀναπεμ-
4 φ̣[θέν]των ὑπὸ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου κελευ̣[ό]ν̣τω̣ν
τινὰς τῆ̣ς Αἰγύπτου ἐπισκό-
5 π̣ου̣ς τ̣ε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἑτέρους πολλοὺς καὶ ἐμὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς
ε̣[.] . . τ̣ο̣α̣ν̣ . . . . . [. . . . .] . [.] . ρ̣ . ; . . ν̣
6 [ἀ]π̣α̣ντῆσαι εἰς Καισάριαν τῆς Παλαιστίνης Συρίας πρὸς διάκρισιν π̣ε̣ρ̣[ὶ]
κ̣[α]θαρισμοῦ ⟨τοῦ⟩ ἁγίου Χρησ̣τ̣ι̣α̣νικοῦ
7 [π]λ̣ή̣θ̣ο̣υ̣ς ἐ̣π̣ι̣[γ]ο̣μ̣έ̣νου μ̣ο̣υ̣ τ̣ο̣ι̣α̣ύ̣τ̣η̣ν ἔκβασιν ποιήσασθαι εἰς τὴν προ⟨γε⟩-
γρ̣[α]μμ̣έ̣ν̣η̣[ν] Καισ̣άριαν πρὸς ἀποπλή-
8 [ρ]ω̣σ̣ι̣ν τῶν κεκελευσμένων ἀνάγκη μοι γεγένηται διάδοχ̣ο̣ν̣ ἀ̣ν̣τ̣ ἐ̣[μο]ῦ̣
κ̣[ατα]σ̣[τ]ῆσαι ἄχρι τῆς ἐμῆς παρου-
9 [σί]ας, ⟨δι' ὃ⟩ σύνηξα τοὺς μονοχοὺς τῆς ἡμετέρας μονῆς ἐπὶ παρόν̣τ̣[ω]ν̣
Π̣α̣τ̣α̣β̣α̣ε̣ῖ̣τ̣[ο]ς πρεσβυτέρου Ἱππώνων
10 [κα]ὶ̣ Π̣α̣π̣νουτίου διάκονος ἀπὸ Π̣α̣μ̣ι̣π̣έσλα καὶ Πρωοῦτος ἀρχέ̣ο̣υ̣
μονοχοῦ καὶ ἑ̣[τέρων πολλῶν̣, καὶ κ̣α̣τ̣ . . . ν̣ . . θ̣υ̣η̣ . .
11 [? σα]ν καὶ ηὐδόκησαν ἐξ ὁμονοίας ἑκουσίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτα[ς] καὶ ἀμ̣ε̣[τα-
ν]ο̣ήτ̣ω̣ γ̣ν̣ώ̣μ̣η̣ Α̣ὐ̣ρ̣ήλ̣ι̣ο̣ν̣ Γερόντιον ὁμο-
12 [γ]ν̣ήσιόν μου ἀδελφὸν ὡς δυνάμενον τὴν χώραν μου [ἀ]π̣ο̣π̣λ̣η̣ρ̣ω̣̃[σ]α̣ι̣ ἄ̣χ̣ρ̣ι̣
τ̣ῆ̣ς ἐμῆς παρουσίας ἐ̣ς̣ χ̣ρ̣όν̣ο̣ν̣
13 [καὶ ?] π̣[ά]̣ν̣τ̣α̣ τὰ τ̣ῆ̣⟨ς⟩ μ̣ο̣ν̣ῆ̣[ς] π̣ρ̣ά̣γ̣μ̣α̣τ̣α̣ προνοῆσαι καὶ διοικεῖν καὶ
οἰκονομεῖν [πε]ρὶ μὲν [.] . . . κ̣α̣σ̣ι̣ . . . . . .
14 [. .] . . γ̣υ̣μ̣ . [. .] . . . . [.] κ̣α̣ὶ̣ . . . αὐτ̣[. . οἰ]κονόμους τῆς μονῆ̣[ς ἐκ]λέξαι
[κα]θ' ὁμοιότητά μου, μηδεμίας δὲ καινοτο-
15 [μ]ί̣[α]ς γ̣ι̣γ̣ν̣ο̣[μέν]η̣ς ἄ̣ν̣[ευ ⟨τῶν⟩ προεσ]τώ̣[των τῆς] μονῆς π̣[ερ]ὶ̣ τ̣[ῶν]
. . ο̣υ̣τ̣[ω]ν̣ καὶ βουλομένων ἐξελθεῖν μονοχῶν

[1] This is perhaps supported by the scribal blunder in l. 2. The scribe at first wrote πρεσβύτερος μονῆς κτλ. and only inserted τοῖς προεστῶσι by an afterthought. Possibly a better correction would have been to add τοῖς προεστῶσι τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς in l. 3.

16 [30–35 letters]σθαι [. .]λ[. .]κλ[. . .
. . .] . . . . os. Κύριον τὸ τῆς καταστάσεως [γ]ραμμ[ά-
17 τ[ιο]ν [πα]ντα[χ[ῆ ἐπιφερόμεν]ον κ[α]ὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.
18 [(2nd h.) Αὐρήλιος Παγεῦς ὁ πρ]οκ[(είμενος)] ἐσ[ημειω]σάμην. (3rd h.)
οἱ πρ[οκ(είμενοι).] . . [. .] καὶ . . . . . μ . δι καὶ Κολλοῦθος καὶ Διο-
σκορ[ί]δη[ς]
19 [
]σ . ω . . ς Κολλοῦθος ἔγρ(αψα) (ὑπὲρ) τῶν ἄλλ(ων) γρ(άμματα) μὴ
20 [εἰδότων. (4th h.) κ]αὶ Πρωοῦς [. . .] . εχμ . . σου παρημε
21 [(5th h.)] . Παπν[ούθιος about 14 letters]
. . . . ηὐδό[κ](ησα).

2. ὑππωνων; so l. 9. l. μοναχῶν; so l. 15. 3. l. ὄρει, Κυνοπολίτου. 5. νς of πολλους corr. or rewritten. 6. l. Καισάρειαν (so l. 7), Χριστιανικοῦ. 7. [π]λήθους ἐπι[γ]ομένου (l. ἐπειγομένου): Hunt. 8. κ[ατα]σ[τ]ῆσαι: Hunt. 9. l. μοναχούς. 10. l. ἀρχαίου μοναχοῦ. 11. γνώμη: Hunt. 12. ἰς χρόνον: Milne; see note. ῖς ⟨l. εἰς⟩. 13. π[ά]ντα τὰ τῆ⟨ς⟩ μονῆ[ς] πράγματα: Hunt; see note. 14. ἐκ]λέξαι: Hunt; see note. 16 f. [γ]ραμμ[ά]τ[ιο]ν: Hunt. 19. After (ὑπὲρ) a long down-stroke has been washed out. 21. ὕυδο[κ] / (?).

'In the consulship of Flavius Optatus, Patrician, and Anicius Paulinus the most illustrious, Phamenoth 23. Aurelius Pageus son of Horus, of the village of Hipponon in the Heracleopolite nome, priest, to the Priors of the monastery of monks called Hathor situated in the eastern desert of the Upper Cynopolite nome. Whereas sacred Imperial letters have been sent up by the most pious Emperor Constantine ordering certain persons from Egypt, both Bishops and priests and many others and myself among them, . . . to proceed to Caesarea in Palestinian Syria to come to a decision concerning the purgation of the holy Christian body and I am desirous to make a journey of this kind to the aforewritten Caesarea to fulfil the orders given, it is necessary for me to appoint a deputy in my place until my return, ⟨wherefore⟩ I gathered together the monks of our monastery in the presence of Patabaeis, priest of Hipponon, and Papnutius the deacon of Paminpesla and Prôous, former monk, and many others; and they . . . and approved with unanimity, voluntarily and spontaneously and with irrevocable decision, Aurelius Gerontius my full brother as a person fitted to occupy my place until my return temporarily (?) [and] to supervise and administer and control all the affairs of the monastery, both as regards . . . and to choose the stewards of the monastery in the same way as myself, and that no innovations shall be made without the consent of (?) the priors of the monastery in the matter of the . . . monks and of those who desire to depart . . . The deed of appointment is valid wheresoever it is produced, and in reply to the formal question I have given my consent. I Aurelius Pageus the aforesaid have signed the deed. We the aforesaid . . . and . . . and Colluthus and Dioscorides . . . I Colluthus have written on behalf of the others, as they are illiterate. We . . . and Prôous . . . are present (?) [and approve?]. I Papnuthius . . . have given my approval.'

1. Ὑπατίας Φλαυί[ο]υ Ὀπ[τάτου παν]ρι[κ]ίου: all the dotted letters, though quite possible, are in themselves very uncertain and could hardly be read but for the analogy of (e.g.) P. Thead. 24 and 25. The *υ* of *υπατιας* is inferred from a slanting stroke in the top left corner of the papyrus, on the assumption that, as not infrequently, the first letter was made specially large, extending much above the others.

κ̄γ̄: *γ* is very probable, *κ* on the other hand very dubious, but there are certainly two strokes before *γ*, so that *ι* seems out of the question and *κ* is the only alternative.

2. Παγεῦς: the name does not occur in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*, but may very likely be identical with the well-known Παεῦς. For the insertion of intervocalic *γ* see E. Mayser, *Gramm. der gr. Papyri*, p. 168; cf., e.g., P. Oxy. xvi, 1928 verso, 12, λέγοντα = λέυοντα. It is improbable, however, that the name is to be equated with Παιηοῦς, which occurs so regularly in the letters that we cannot suppose Paiêous to have called himself Παγεῦς.

3. [καλ]ουμένης: there is not really room for *καλ*, but the reading can hardly be doubted. *κα* does not seem to have been written in l. 2, for though the papyrus is much rubbed at the end of that line some traces at least of any letters there should be visible. It may be suspected that the scribe, who was given to omissions, actually wrote λουμενης, forgetting that he had not written *κα* in l. 2.

Ἄθορ: it had been suggested by Mr. Crum, even before [καλ]ουμένης was read, that the letters *αθορ* were to be connected with the πρατωρ of **1920**, 2. There can be no doubt that this is the same place as that, and thus **1913** gives us the provenance of the whole collection. Ἄθορ seems not to occur in any hitherto published text.

4. κελεύ[σ]ντων: or -τος, agreeing with Κωνσταντίνου, but the plural, agreeing with γραμμάτων, is more natural and seems a possible reading.

5. The end of this line is practically hopeless, but the scanty traces might suffice to test a conjectural restoration. The *ε* at the beginning of the undeciphered portion is very probable. Since [ἀ]παντῆσαι in l. 6 is all but certain, a verb is not required here, but the line may end in συ]ν (συναπαντῆσαι).

6 f. πρὸς διάκρισιν κτλ.: it is unfortunate that there is any uncertainty in the reading of so crucial a passage, but the reading adopted, though it may at first seem objectionable, is difficult to escape from. *διάκρισιν* may be taken as certain. After it *π̣ε* is extremely probable, and a small trace above l. 7 to the right of the *ο* of *προ⟨γε⟩γρ[α]μμέν̣η[ν]* cannot, if that reading be adopted rather than *προκιμένην* (see note there), be part of l. 7 and suggests the bottom of a *ρ*. Hence *περί* is a natural reading. *αριεμου* is certain except for the *σ*, which is much preferable to *θ* (*ἀριθμοῦ*), and the character before it must be either *β* or *θ* (*ερ* is sometimes made in a similar way in late Byzantine texts but never in **1913**). Of the two *θ* is slightly the better reading, and *β* would necessitate *βαρ]βαριεμοῦ*, which suits neither the space nor the context. If *θ* be read we can hardly escape *καθαριεμοῦ*. After the *υ*, *πιου* is suggested, but this is hopeless, and *ἁγίου* is perfectly possible (for the form of *α* cf., e.g., the *α* of [ἀ]παντῆσαι or either *α* of Παλαιστίνης). After this Χρηστιανικοῦ seems certain (for the *η* cf. **1919**, 32, n.). In l. 7 *ἐπι[γ]ρ̣μέ̣νου*, though several of the individual letters are doubtful, is almost certain, and gives the required sense; [π]λήθου̣ς on the contrary is excessively dubious and is read merely *exempli gratia*. It suits the space (better, e.g., than [γ]ένου̣ς, which could also be read) and can be reconciled with the confused traces, though they do not suggest it; *.υ̣..ο̣ς* is the most obvious reading. *πλήθους* too, though an understandable, is not the most natural word in the context. Apart from this the reading adopted seems highly probable, though it must be confessed that the wording is peculiar. The objections to it are that (1) *διάκρισιν*, which here must mean a decision or judgement, goes curiously with what follows, (2) *καθαριεμοῦ* is an unexpected word, (3) the omission of *τοῦ* is objectionable. As regards the last point it may be noted that the scribe was much given to omissions. In l. 7 *τήν* is expected, but was not written, before *τοιαύτ̣ην* (cf. too *ὁμογνήσιον* without *τόν* in l. 11), and there are certain examples of omission in ll. 2 (*τ̣οῖς π̣ροεστῶσ[ι]*), 8 (*διάδοχ⟨ον⟩*), 10 (*ἀρχέ⟨ου⟩*), 13 (end; see note), 14 (*δε⟨*), and probable ones in ll. 3 ([καλ]ουμένης; see note), 7 (*προ⟨γε⟩γρ[α]μμέ̣νη[ν]*), 9 (*⟨δι' ὁ⟩*), 13 (*τ̣ῇ⟨ς⟩*). *διάκρισιν* is appropriate in itself, for the Synod of Caesarea was of the nature of a judicial assembly, and as to *καθαριεμοῦ*, the word seems to suit Constantine's conception of its functions very well. We have not indeed his letter convening the Synod, but the following passage from that convening the Synod of Tyre in the following year (Eusebius, *Vita Const.*, iv, 42) is significant: *ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐχ ὑγιοῦς φιλονεικίας οἵστρῳ τινὲς ἐλαυνόμενοι . . . τὰ πάντα συγχέειν ἐπιχειρουῦσιν, ὅπερ πάσης συμφορᾶς ἐπέκεινα κεχωρηκέναι μοι δοκεῖ, τούτου χάριν θέοντας ὑμᾶς, τὸ τοῦ*

λόγου, προτρέπομαι χωρίς τινος ὑπερθέσεως εἰς ταὐτὸ συνδραμεῖν, πληρῶσαι τὴν σύνοδον, ἐπαμῦναι τοῖς χρῄζουσιν ἐπικουρίας, τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἰάσασθαι κινδυνεύοντας, εἰς ὁμόνοιαν ἐπαναγαγεῖν τὰ διεστῶτα τῶν μελῶν, διορθώσασθαι τὰ πλημμελούμενα ἕως καιρὸς ἐπιτρέπει, κτλ. Such a phrase as εἰς καθαρισμὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Χριστιανικοῦ πλήθους seems quite consonant with Constantine's style; the combination of it with πρὸς διάκρισιν may be due to the scribe.

7. προ⟨γε⟩γρ[α]μμένη[ν]: between προ and the downstroke taken as ρ there is certainly not room for γεγ, and it is therefore an obvious suggestion that προκι[μ]ένη[ν] should be read. A trace of ink above the line might be part of κ, and the downstroke would suit ι as well as ρ, but the traces after the lacuna (where the upper layer of papyrus has disappeared) do not at all suit the reading ενη, but suggest rather μμενη (though this too is very indistinct). Hence it is better to suppose that the scribe, *more suo*, has omitted two letters. The ink above the line must therefore be assigned to the ρ of π̣ερ[ί] in l. 6.

8. ἀντ' ἐ[μο]ῦ: μού τινα or τινά μου is impossible, but the reading in the text is far from certain. α̣ὐτά̣[ρκη] (Milne) is almost equally possible. κ̣[ατα]σ[τ]ῆσαι, which the traces alone are insufficient to establish, is confirmed by l. 16.

9. ⟨δι' ὅ⟩: something like this seems required. The exact word or phrase is of course uncertain.

ἡμετέρας: it is not necessary to emend to ὑμετέρας, since Pageus was clearly attached in some way to the μονή.

Π̣α̣τ̣α̣β̣α̣εῖτ̣[ο]ς: the reading is very probable, and is perhaps supported by **1914**, 1, where the same person may be addressed.

10. Π̣α̣μ̣ινπέσλα: the reading is probable and better than Παλινπέσλα or Παωινπέσλα, though these are not quite excluded. The place is apparently unknown, though a village Pesla (or rather two villages, ἄνω and κάτω) is known in the Hermopolite nome (P. Lips. 54, 4; Flor. 50, 65; Amh. 101, 7).

Πρωοῦτος: identical with Πρ̣α̣υ̣ο̣ῦν of **1914**, 52? But Πρωοῦν cannot be read there, and since Πρωοῦς was a 'former monk' the identification is not specially likely.

κ̣α̣τ̣ . . . ν̣ . . θ̣ν̣η̣ . . [? σα]ν: difficult, and no likely reading has suggested itself. κατ and ν are probable; ν̣η are very uncertain, and the combination θνη is rather intractable, but it is inserted in the text because it is the most obvious reading of the characters. The last letter of l. 10 is ι, η, or υ. If ἑ[τέρων πολλ]ῶν, a probable reading in itself, be rejected, this may be a name or names.

11. αὐθαιρέτω[ς]: the ς of ἑκουσίως is certain, and though ς is entirely lost here, the ω has a ligature at the end, so that αὐθαιρέτω[ς] is preferable to αὐθαιρέτῳ.

12. ἰ̣ς̣ χ̣ρ̣ό̣ν̣ο̣ν̣: doubtful and not really required but the easiest reading of the characters.

13. [καὶ ?] π̣[ά]ντα τὰ τ̣ῆ̣⟨ς⟩ μ̣ο̣νῆ̣[ς] π̣ράγματα: Prof. Hunt, to whom the reading is due, suggested τῶν μοναχῶν, but there is certainly not room for τῶν nor very much for χων (α could be read after ν). Hence, as the traces suit τη it is best to suppose, since μον is fairly certain, that the scribe again omitted a letter.

[πε]ρὶ μ̣ὲ̣ν̣ [.] . . . κ̣α̣σ̣ι̣ . .: the letter following ι may well be α, but the next one comes rather low for ς; ου could be read. [πε]ρὶ μ̣ὲ̣ν̣ is a likely reading. In the undeciphered passage following something was omitted, and at least three letters, ending with ι, have been added above the line.

14. The traces rather strongly suggest κ̣α̣ὶ̣ τ̣ο̣[ὺ]ς̣ α̣ὐ̣τ̣[οὺς οἰ]κονόμους, but no οἰκονόμοι have been mentioned previously, and Prof. Hunt conjectures some such reading as καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτ[ὸν κτλ. ἐπὶ τῷ itself is however impossible.

ἐκ]λ̣έ̣ξαι: the space would better suit κατα]λ̣έ̣ξαι, but ἐκ]λ̣έ̣ξαι is a likelier word, and seems possible if we suppose the σεκ to have been spread out.

15. γ̣ι̣γ̣ν̣ο̣[μέν]η̣ς̣: the context makes this almost necessary, but the reading is excessively uncertain. The first letter is a good γ, but what follows is not at all easy to reconcile with ιγνο (or εινο) and the characters after the defaced patch are very unlike ης, though they can perhaps be read so at need. After this α . [can easily be read, and since the small trace is consistent with ν, ἄνευ is a not unlikely reading. προεσ]τ̣ώ̣[των is suggested by the context, but involves the supposition that the scribe has again omitted a word.

16. [. .]λ̣[. .]κ̣λ̣[: some case of ὁλόκληρος is suggested, and there may be only one letter between the first λ and κ, but the word seems inappropriate here. The three dotted letters are all of them easy to read.

17. The second half of this line was left blank, the subscriptions beginning in l. 18.

18. ο̣ἱ̣ π̣ρ̣[οκ(είμενοι): neither Colluthus nor Dioscorides has been named in the body of

the contract. Probably therefore these are the προεστῶτες of l. 2 or some of them. Pageus signed first, then the προεστῶτες jointly, then the witnesses. If the hand in l. 19 is the same as here (see note) Colluthus signed for all. As regards the readings here, the first καί is very probable, the third certain, but the second is dubious. The characters are indeed very like those of the third καί, but δι is a curious ending for a name. It is hardly possible to read καὶ Παιησοῦς Δικαί(ου) (cf. **1921**, 32, and intr.).

Διοσκορ[ί]δη[ς]: this seems clearly the reading rather than Διόσκορον (cf. **1916**, 3; **1918**, 4; **1921**, 23).

19. In view of the context it is preferable to take this as the same hand as in l. 18, but it must be admitted that though the ουθος is fairly similar, some letters and the general appearance of the script differ somewhat from the hand of l. 19. The symbol for ὑπέρ is of unusual shape, rather like that for τάλαντον at this period. Though a lacuna is marked in the text before σ . ω . . ς there are isolated traces here and there, too small for any reading.

20. A large uncial hand, evidently that of a writer not expert with his pen. There is room for ο between χ and μ, which, as αι may follow μ, suggests [ὑπο δέχ[ο μαι, but the word is not suitable here. Prof. Hunt suggests that παρημε may be for πάρειμι, followed in l. 21 by [καὶ εὐδοκῶ (for the latter word see the second subscription in that line).

PAPYRUS **1914**.—May–June, A.D. 335(?).

Inv. No. 2487. 23·6 × 28·2 cm.

Acquired in 1922. Dark brown papyrus but with bands of lighter colour. Worm-eaten on the left side, with smaller holes in many places; verso rubbed in several lines. Written in a good upright cursive hand, fairly large and not much compressed at the beginning but growing smaller and more cramped as the writer proceeded, particularly on the verso; on both sides along the fibres, the writing on the verso being at right angles to that on the recto. Black ink of a greyish tint. The address is at the bottom edge of the verso, the reverse way up. Facsimile of recto: Plate II.

This letter is historically the most important of the whole archive and indeed may well claim to rank among the primary authorities for the ecclesiastical history of Egypt in the fourth century. The writer, Callistus, was doubtless a Meletian monk or cleric, and he gives a circumstantial account of the sufferings of his fellow Meletians at the hands of Athanasius's adherents and of Athanasius himself.

The style of the letter is unfortunately awkward and at times obscure; and moreover a private letter, the writer of which, referring to matters familiar to his correspondent, does not need to be as definite as an historian, is always apt to be a little difficult of comprehension to those unacquainted with the circumstances. Hence it is not surprising that parts of our letter are by no means clear and admit of more than one interpretation. The Greek is indeed not exactly illiterate; the spelling, though often inaccurate, shows few of the wilder vagaries characteristic of uneducated writers, and the syntax is as a rule intelligible. Nevertheless there are features in the style which suggest that Callistus was a Copt and not wholly at home in Greek. Such are: the repetition of a word or phrase without a connecting particle or conjunction, ll. 9–10, ἤλθασιν φέροντες . . ., οἰνόμενοι ἤλθασιν; the omission of any connecting word in l. 38, τοῦτ' οὖν ἤκουσεν Ἀθανάσιος . . . πάνυ ἀθυμεῖ Ἀθανάσιος; and the writer's habit of inserting an explanatory or

supplementary clause without a conjunction, as in ll. 24 (ἐποίησαν, κτλ.), 48 (Ἔμις, κτλ.).

Many features of grammar and style are, however, familiar enough in later Greek. Such are: the use of the definite article for the relative pronoun (τὰ ἐπάθαμεν, l. 3); the confusion of the prepositions of motion and rest (ἀπήλθασιν . . . ἐν τῇ μονῇ, l. 15 f.; προερθῖν ἐν τοῖς σίγνοις, l. 17 f.; εἰς αὐτούς ἐστιν, l. 48); the tendency to normalize verbal forms, introducing *a* into the second aorist (ἐπάθαμεν, l. 3; εὗραν, l. 13; ἐξέβαλαν, l. 14; &c.), and *o* into the conjugation of δύναμαι (δύνονται, l. 5); the confusion of perfect and aorist (ἦρκαν, -εν, ll. 12, 36, for ἦραν, -εν; cf. the ending in ἤλθασιν); the accusative ending -αν for -α (πατέραν, l. 52); the fondness for τοῦ with the infinitive in place of a subordinate clause (ἡ ἡμέραι γάρ εἰσιν τοῦ λαβῖν αὐτοὺς αὐτάς, l. 59); the use of the genitive absolute for the subject of the sentence (ἐγβάντων αὐτῶν εὗραν, l. 13, but see note ad loc.; ἐνεβάλ⟨ε⟩το . . . ὡς αὐτοῦ ἀπωδημοῦντος, l. 39 f.); the use of participles without a principal verb (l. 17 f.) or the insertion of a καί between participle and principal verb (l. 8 f.); &c. Among orthographical peculiarities, apart from the common confusions of ι and ει, ε and αι, ο and ω, may be mentioned: confusion of δ and ζ (εἰκάζι, l. 6); ε for ει (Ἡρακλέου, l. 3 f.); η for αι (ἡ, l. 59), ει (ἠσίν, l. 16) and υ (δύσαντες, l. 19; τυρῇ, l. 50); οι for υ (φοιλακῇ, l. 44); υ for β (εὐδόμῃ, l. 47); ρ for λ (προερθῖν, l. 17); the omission of γ from the combination γγ or γκ (ἀναγῖλαι, l. 5; παρηγῖλαν, l. 22; ἤνεκεν, ll. 40, 42); &c.

It remains to determine the date of the letter and the circumstances in which it was written. Athanasius was clearly at the time in actual possession of the see of Alexandria, and the letter therefore cannot have been written during one of his periods of exile. On every ground, as will be seen from what follows, we may further exclude his later tenures of the see, after his return from his third exile. The period, however, between his second and third exiles may also be ruled out; for though during the earlier part of that period he enjoyed comparative tranquillity, it is not very likely that, with bitter enemies intriguing against him and under an Emperor unfriendly to him personally and of notoriously Arian sympathies, he would give a handle against himself by instituting or permitting such proceedings as **1914** reveals.[1] The date of the letter must fall therefore before March 19 of A.D. 339 or 340,[2] when the second exile began. But it is possible with practical certainty to narrow the period yet further. It seems clear from several passages of the letter that though Athanasius still possessed power enough not only to instigate but even (if the wording of ll. 42–8 can be taken literally) himself to carry out measures against the Meletians, yet his position was far from secure, and he felt himself seriously threatened. There

[1] Sozomen (iii, 21) states that after his return from his second exile Athanasius οὓς μὲν ἔγνω τὰ Ἀρείου φρονοῦντας, καθεῖλεν, οἷς δὲ αὐτὸς ἐδοκίμασε, τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ τὴν πίστιν τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου; and it was said (λέγεται) that even *en route* for Egypt he took similar steps in other provinces, which was made a ground of accusation against him. But the letter of the Oriental Council of Sardica (Hilary of Poictiers, iv, p. 54 f.) shows that the reference in the second sentence and probably that in the first should really be to the return from the first exile. Even if anything of the kind occurred after the return from the second exile, such measures were very different from those referred to in **1914**.

[2] For the question of date see Lauchert (who chooses 340), p. 152, note 124.

is no trace in our tradition of such insecurity during the early years of his episcopate, and indeed it is very unlikely that till their alliance with the Eusebian party the Meletians were strong enough to constitute a real menace. This alliance was probably not formed till late in 330.[1] Hence we may regard the latter part of 330 and Easter of 340 as the extreme limits of time for our letter. Parts of this period are, however, ruled out. In consequence of the accusations of the Meletians Athanasius was summoned to court, probably towards the end of 331,[2] and did not return till after Easter of 332. Again, he left Alexandria on July 11, 335, to attend the Synod of Tyre; and since he was banished after it, he did not return till Nov. 23, 337. Now, though our letter is itself undated, it does date certain of the events it records. Isaac's visit to Heraiscus occurred on Pachon 24 (May 19); Athanasius banished the bishops on Pachon 27 (May 22); Heraiscus was imprisoned till Pachon 28 (May 23). It is quite clear that the letter was written shortly after the events recorded, i.e. late in May or early in June. Hence the possible years, before Athanasius's first exile, are 331, 332, 333, 334, 335. The fact that **1913** is dated in 334 makes it preferable to place **1914** also before the first exile rather than after it, but this consideration is not in itself decisive, and we must consider whether any evidence can be discovered in the letter itself to justify a nearer dating.

The situation revealed is roughly as follows: Athanasius was anxious and despondent, partly in consequence of reports which reached him from abroad. Among these was one concerning a Macarius, whom apparently the Emperor had ordered to be taken into custody. A certain Archelaus, a second person whose name is lost, and Athanasius son of Capito, a priest already known to us from Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, set out from Egypt with the intention of carrying off (ἀποσπάσαι, l. 34) Macarius, i.e., apparently, of delivering him from justice, and also bearing defamatory letters against an Alexandrine named Heraiscus; but 'Apa Johannes', hearing a report of this at Antioch (see, however, l. 34, n.), came and seized them and placed them in custody. The news of Archelaus's imprisonment caused Athanasius great despondency. He was contemplating (apparently, from l. 38, as a result of repeated summonses) going abroad, and had actually embarked his baggage, but could not make up his mind to the step, and had removed his baggage from the ship. Nevertheless, though evidently in

[1] Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.*, lxviii, 5–6, makes the Meletians, persecuted by *Alexander* (see above, p. 40 f.), attempt an appeal to the Emperor and after their failure conclude an alliance with Eusebius, but he gives no date, though the word χρονοτριβῆσαι seems to imply some interval between the two events. Socrates (i, 27) seems to place the alliance after the letter of Constantine ordering Athanasius to receive Arius into communion (Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 59), whereas Sozomen (ii, 21–2) implies the reverse order. That there was no serious threat to Athanasius till the latter half of 330 may be inferred from a comparison of his second and third Festal Letters; see Schwartz, *G. G. N.*, 1911, 371, and cf. Lauchert, p. 41.

[2] A. Robertson, *Nic. and Post-Nic. Fathers*, iv, p. xxxviii, dates his departure late in 330, but this seems improbable; there is nothing in the third Festal Letter to imply that he was outside Egypt. The Kephalaion for 331 (Migne, *P. G.*, xxvi, 1352) is wrong in saying that the letter for that year was written during Athanasius's return from the court (this is due to confusion with Letter iv) but may be correct in the statement that 'hoc anno perrexit in comitatum'.

a precarious position, he was carrying on an active campaign against the Meletians. The attack on Isaac, Bishop of Letopolis, and others on the evening of Pachon 24 is attributed not to him but to his partizans, to soldiers, and to the *praepositus castrorum*; but l. 29 testifies to the 'distress' he was causing to the Meletians, and in ll. 42–8 a catalogue of his high-handed measures is given. He had imprisoned one of the Bishops of Lower Egypt in the meat market, a priest of the same district in the *applicitum*, and a deacon in the principal prison, and had banished or procured the banishment of (ἐποίησεν . . . ἀποδημῆσαι, l. 47) seven Bishops; moreover, as the imprisonment and scourging of Heraiscus are mentioned in the middle of this recital, it is natural to suppose that Athanasius was responsible, directly or indirectly, for those measures.

The situation strongly suggests the time immediately preceding the Synod of Tyre in 335. The year 331, when, as we have seen, Athanasius was summoned to court to answer the charges of the Meletians, would suit the references to his impending but delayed departure; but we have no reason to suppose that his journey began till towards the end of the year, whereas the present letter was clearly written in May or June. On the other hand his departure for the Synod of Tyre occurred on July 11, which suits our letter excellently. Moreover, in connexion with the Synod of Tyre we hear, not indeed from Athanasius himself, who doubtless thought it inexpedient to mention charges which he could not wholly deny, but from Sozomen, of violence towards the Meletians.[1] We do not know indeed to what exact date these charges refer, but it is natural to suppose, with Schwartz,[2] that after his return from Nicomedia in 332, fresh from his triumph over his accusers and fortified by a letter from the Emperor, he thought it a favourable opportunity to settle his account with his Meletian adversaries in Egypt; a settlement all the more desirable as the recent attack on him had shown him what a danger they might become. He seems to have followed up his return from his first exile with a vigorous offensive against his enemies,[3] and analogy suggests that he acted similarly after his return from court in 332. But if the events recorded in **1914** occurred after 332 (and 332 itself is ruled out, for he cannot have contemplated going abroad again in May or June of that year), the reference to his intended departure points clearly to either 334 or 335. Athanasius was summoned to the Synod of Caesarea, as **1913** shows, in February or early March, 334, but refused to attend on the ground that the assembly was biased. He may have hesitated before coming to this decision, but our authorities do not state this, and the end of May is rather a long time after the summons. Even on this ground then it seems better to place **1914** in 335, before the Synod

[1] See above, p. 47, note 2. The letter of the Oriental Council of Sardica, there referred to (note 3), may be quoted: 'Accusatus praeterea est de iniuriis, violentia, caede, atque *ipsa episcoporum internicione* [Arsenius]. Quique etiam diebus sacratissimis paschae tyrannico more saeviens *ducibus* [cf. **1914**, 9] atque comitibus iunctus, quique propter ipsum *aliquos in custodiam recludebant, aliquos vero verberibus flagellisque vexabant*, ceteros diversis tormentis ad communionem eius sacrilegam adigebant', &c.; so too § 7: 'in episcoporum exitiis innocentiumque fratrum persecutione horrendus'. On these charges see Fr. Loofs, *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1909, 287 f.

[2] *G. G. N.*, 1911, 374.

[3] Sozomen, iii, 2, 5; Hilary of Poictiers, iv, p. 55.

of Tyre, especially as we know that Athanasius decided to appear at the latter only after long hesitation and under strong pressure.[1] But there is an additional argument. In ll. 30–2 (see note) there is apparently a reference to the arrest of Macarius, whom we know to have been seized and placed in chains on the Emperor's order as a preliminary to the Synod of Tyre. Several other pieces of evidence make a date before that Synod extremely probable, though they do not definitely favour 335 as against 334. The two persons (other than Athanasius himself) who can be identified with certainty are Isaac, Bishop of Letopolis, and Athanasius son of Capito. The former (l. 6, n.) clearly played a prominent part at Tyre and in the events leading up to the Synod, and the latter (l. 33, n.) was exiled at or after it. Moreover, the 'Apa Johannes' of l. 34 (see note) is probably to be identified with the Meletian leader John Archaph, and it is natural enough to find him at Antioch in either 334 or 335. He was exiled after the Synod of Tyre. Finally, the Archelaus who attempted with two confederates to rescue Macarius may be a person of that name mentioned by several of our authorities in connexion with the Synod of Tyre. There are considerable difficulties in this, but, as suggested in the note on l. 32 f., there may have been a confusion between an agent of Athanasius called Archelaus and an Imperial official of the same name.

The last argument is, no doubt, extremely dubious, but the others are weighty, and the general result of the discussion is to make it highly probable that **1914** is to be dated May–June, 335. The letter thus, and indeed in any case, acquires great historic interest as giving us new light on the events which preceded the Synod of Tyre; and its value is the greater because it comes from the Meletian side, whereas, the Catholic party having eventually triumphed, the literary tradition chiefly[2] represents their standpoint. We are now enabled to see the other side of the picture. It was always suspicious that Athanasius, while dwelling on the charges concerning the chalice and Arsenius, which he could refute, says nothing of those which accused him of violence and oppression towards the Meletians. The reason is now clear: these charges were in part true. That he was himself responsible for the violence of the soldiery on the evening of Pachon 24 Callistus does not state, and it is not probable; but we may doubt whether he took much trouble to prevent such outrages, and he is definitely charged with imprisoning the schismatics and with other high-handed measures. Very important too is what Callistus tells us of the attempt to carry off Macarius. He does not indeed allege that the three would-be kidnappers were commissioned by Athanasius, but he does state that Athanasius was very despondent when he heard of Archelaus's arrest, and it is hardly conceivable that the confederates can have acted without at least his tacit consent. We must conclude that there was a germ of truth in the picture given of Athanasius by his enemies as a self-willed, unruly man, apt to treat even the Imperial authority with contempt.

[1] Sozomen, ii, 25: *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σφοδρότερον βιασθεὶς ἦκεν εἰς Τύρον*; Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 71, *ἐμοὶ δὲ γράφει* [i. e. Constantine] *καὶ ἀνάγκην ἐπιτίθησιν· ὥστε καὶ ἄκοντας ἡμᾶς ἀποστέλλεσθαι.*

[2] Not entirely; e. g. Epiphanius obviously used, among others, a source favourable to Meletius; and Hilary of Poictiers has preserved the letter of the Oriental Council of Sardica. We have, too, fragments of the Arian Philostorgius.

Yet it must not be forgotten that the letter of Callistus also is an *ex parte* statement. The facts he relates can hardly be doubted, but they may have had a justification which he does not allow to appear. And in any case it would be unfair to found on these and similar facts a general condemnation of Athanasius, though we admit faults in his character and errors in his conduct. Both sides were tarred with the same brush: the leaders of both were for the most part conspicuously lacking in the virtue of Christian charity towards their opponents; both were apt to be disingenuous in their controversial methods and, while very quick to complain of persecution when it was directed against themselves, quite willing to practise it against others; and both were prepared to accept the help of the secular authority, though they denounced any reliance upon it by the opposite side. A fair and critical judgement between Athanasius and his opponents must rest on a consideration, not of such details, but of total personality and of the main issues at stake.

1 Τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ ἅπα Παιηοῦ καὶ Παταβεὶτ πρεσβυτέροις Κ̣ά̣λ̣-
2 λιστος ἐν
κ(υρί)ῳ θ(ε)ῷ χαίρειν. Γινόσκιν ὑμᾶς θέλομεν τὰ πραχθέντα
3 ἐνταῦθα πράγματα· ἐξάφινα γὰρ ἠκούσατε τὰ ἐπάθαμεν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκίνῃ ἐν τῇ
4 οἰκίᾳ Ἡρα-
κλέου τοῦ κο⟨μ⟩μενταρησίου. Εἰσὶν γὰρ καί τινες ἀδελφοὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐλ-
5 [θ]όντων πρὸς ὑμᾶς
μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ δύνονται καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πραχθέντα [ὑ]μῖν
6 ἀναγ⟨γ⟩ῖλαι. Μετὰ
γὰρ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκίνη⟨ν⟩ ἐν τῇ τ{ρ}ετράδι καὶ εἰκάζι τοῦ Παχ[ὼ]ν
7 μηνὸς Ἰσὰκ
ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἀπὸ Λητοῦς ἦλθεν πρὸς Ἡραείσκον ἐν Ἀλεξα[νδρ]ίᾳ, καὶ
8 ἠθέλησεν
γεύσασθαι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ. Ἀκούσαν[τε]ς οὖν οἱ
διαφέρον-
9 τες Ἀθανασίου καὶ ἦλθασιν φέροντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν στρατιότας τοῦ δουκὸς
καὶ τῆς
10 παρεμβολῆς, οἰνόμενοι ἦλθασιν ὥρᾳ ἐνάτῃ συνκλίσαντες τὴν [π]αρεμβολὴν
βουλόμε⟨νοι⟩
11 καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πιάσαι. Ἀκούσαντες οὖν τινὲς στρατιῶται
[ο]ἱ ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ καὶ
12 φόβον θεοῦ ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἦρκαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔκρυψαν ἐν ταῖς
κέλλαις ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ·
13 καὶ ἐκίνων μὴ εὑρεθέντων ἐγβάντων αὐτῶν εὗραν τέσσαρες ἀδελφοὺς
ἐρχομένους ἐν τῇ πα-
14 ρεμβολῇ, καὶ κατακόψαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐμαρώεις ποιησάμενοι ὥστε αὐτοὺς
κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ ἐξέβαλαν

15 αὐτοὺς ἔξω τῆς Νικοπώλεως. Καὶ μετὰ ⟨τὸ⟩ τούτους ἐγβαλῖν ἀπήλθασιν
16 πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τοῦ Ἡλίου ἐν τῇ μονῇ ἐν ᾗ ἠσὶν ἐπιξενούμενοι οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πιάσαντες
17 ἄλλους πέντη ἐκῖ εἶ⟨ρ⟩ξαν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ ὀψίας, καὶ συνκλίσαντες αὐτοὺς μέχρις τοῦ
18 τ̣[ὸ]ν̣ πραιπόσιτον προερθῖν ἐν τοῖς σίγνοις τὸ πρὸς πρ̣ο̣ε̣ὶ καὶ λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ὁ πραιπόσιτος καὶ ὁ̣
19 σκρίβας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευ-σεν ἐγβληθῆναι ἐκτὸς τῆς Νικοπόλεως· καὶ τὸν μονάριν Ἡρακλίδην̣
20 δύ[σα]ντες καὶ ὑβρίσαντες ἐνέτιλαν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπαπιλούμενοι, ὅτι "κατὰ ποίαν ἐτίαν τοὺς μ[ο]ναχοὺς
21 τῶν Μελιτιανῶν ἤασας ἐν τῇ μωνῇ;" καὶ ἄλλον ἀδελφὸν Ἄμμωνα ὄντα ἐν τῇ παρεμ-
22 β[ο]λ̣ῇ̣ [κ]αὶ αὐτὸν ὑποδεχόμενον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς συνέκλισαν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ̣, παρήγ⟨γ⟩ιλαν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὥστε
23 μὴ ὑποδέχεσθαι αὐ-τὸν μοναχοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Ἄλλος γὰρ ἀδελφὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἱ μὴ
24 ο̣ὗ̣[τοι οἱ] δύο ὑποδέχομενοι τοὺς ἀδελφούς· ἐποίησαν αὐτοὺς διλανθῆναι. Θλιβόμεθα οὖν πάνυ διει̣ρ̣[γμέ]νοι
25 ὑπὸ αὐτῶν κατὰ τό-πον. Ἐπιλοιπούμεθα οὖν {ουν} ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτρέπουσιν ἡμῖν πρὸς τ̣[ὸν]
26 πάπαν Ἡραείσκον ἀπελθῖν καὶ ἐπισκέψασθαι αὐτόν. Ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ γὰρ ἐν ᾗ ὑβρίσθησαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ
27 ὁ πραι[π]όσιτος τῶν στρατιοτῶν ἔπεμ-σεν φάσιν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ λέγων ὅτι "ἡμάρτησα καὶ ἐπαρυνήθην ἐν τῇ
28 νυκτὶ ὅτι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὕβρισα". Ἐποίησεν δὲ καὶ ἀγάπην ἐν ἐκίνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἕλλην ὢν δ[ιὰ]
τ̣ὸ̣ ἁμάρτημα ὃ ἐποίησεν.

In the left margin, from top to bottom of the papyrus:

29 Ἀθανάσιος δὲ μεγάλως ἀθυμῖ καὶ αὐτὸς παρέχι ἡμῖν κάμα̣τον διὰ τὰ
30 γραφώμενα καὶ τὰς φάσις τὰς ἐρχομένας αὐ̣τ̣[ῷ̣] ἀ̣[πὸ] ἔξωθεν, ἐπιδὴ ὁ β[α]σιλεὺς Μακάριον
31 εὑρὼν ἔξω ἐν τῷ κομιδᾶ[τῳ . . . . .]υρῳ γράψας [. . . . .] . ανυ̣ο̣υ̣ς ὅτι δήσας
32 αὐτὸν καὶ . επι . α ἀπο . [. . . . .]α ἵνα α̣ὐ̣[το . . . . .] . ε̣σ̣τ̣αι. Ἀπελθόντων
33 οὖν Ἀρχελά-ου τοῦ [. . . . . καὶ . . . . .] . μετὰ Ἀθαν[ασίου το]ῦ υἱοῦ Καπίτωνος,

Verso:

34 βουλόμενοι ἀποσπάσε Μακάριον, ἡ φάσις οὖν ἀπελθην πρὸς ἅπα Ἰωάννην
ἐν Ἀντιοχίᾳ·
35 ἦλθεν καὶ πιάσας αὐτοὺς κατέσχεν αὐτούς, ἐπιδὴ ἐπὶ συκοφαντίᾳ καὶ
δινὰ ἦσαν γράψαν-
36 τες κατὰ Ἡραείσκου, καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀρχέλαος τὰ γ⟨ρ⟩άμματα ἦρκεν ἔξω.
Ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἐποίησεν
37 καὶ τοὺς τρῖς ἔξω καὶ ἔχι ἔξω. Τοῦτ' οὖν ἤκουσεν Ἀθανάσιος ὅτι
Ἀρχέλαος
38 συνεσχέθη, πάνυ ἀθυμεῖ Ἀθανάσιος. Πολλαχῶς οὖν ἦλθαν ἐπὶ
39 αὐτὸν καὶ μέχρις νῦν οὐκ ἀπεδήμησεν· ἐνεβάλοτο δ[ὲ] τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ
ἐν τῇ θα-
40 λάσσῃ ὡς αὐτοῦ ἀπωδημοῦντος, καὶ πάλιν εἰς δεύτερον ἤνε⟨γ⟩κεν τὰ σκεύη
41 ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου, μὴ βουλόμενος ἀ[π]ο[δ]ημῆ[σ]α[ι] . . . . . ψα . .
ἔγρ[α]ψα εἶνα
42 γνοῖται ἐν ποίᾳ θλίψι ἐσμέν· ἤνε⟨γ⟩κεν γὰρ ἐπίσκοπον τῆς κάτω χώρας
43 καὶ συνέκλισεν αὐτὰν ἐν τῷ μακέλλῳ, καὶ πρεσβύτερον τῶν αὐτῶν μερῶν
44 συνέκλισεν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἁπλικίτῳ καὶ διάκωνα ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ
φοιλακῇ, καὶ μέχρις
45 τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ εἰκάδος τοῦ Παχὼν μηνὸς καὶ Ἡραείσκος συνκεκλισμέ-
46 νος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ—εὐχαριστῶ μὲν τῷ δεσπότῃ θεῷ ὅτι
ἐπαύθησαν ἐ πλη-
47 γαὶ ἃς εἶχεν—καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐυδόμῃ καὶ εἰκάδι ἐποίησεν ἐπισκόπους ἕπτα ἀποδη-
48 μῆσαι· Ἔμις καὶ Πέτρος εἰς αὐτούς ἐστιν, υἱὸς Τουβέστις. Μὴ ἀμε-
λήσηται οὖν
49 περὶ ἡμῶν, ἄδελφοι, ἐπιδὴ τὰ ψωμία ἀφῆκαν ὀπίσω, ἵνα διὰ τὸν ἐπί-
σκοπον μή-
50 πως ἔξω ἀρθῇ ἵνα τυρῇ αὐτὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀγοράζων ἄρτους
εἰς δια-
51 τροφὴν ἠγώρασα ἀρτάβην σίτου (ταλάντων) ιδ. Ἐπὰν οὖν εὕρηται
εἰδήμωνα ἀπο-
52 στίλατέ μοι ὀλίγα ψωμία. Ἀσπάζομε τὸν πατέραν μου Πραυοῦν καὶ
πάντας τοὺς
53 ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ὄντας μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Θέονα τὸν διάκωνα καὶ Σαπρίωνα
καὶ Ὡρίωνα
54 καὶ Παπνούτιν καὶ ἅπα Σαρμάτην καὶ Παώμιν καὶ Πιὸρ καὶ Εὐδαίμωνα
καὶ ἅπα Τρύφωνα
55 καὶ Γερόντιον καὶ ἅπα Ἱέρακαν καὶ ἅπα Ἐλεᾶν καὶ ἅπα Ἀρῆοῦν καὶ
ἅπα Πιὰμ καὶ Κορνήλιν
56 καὶ Πισάτιν καὶ Κολλοῦθον καὶ Ἰωσὴπ καὶ τὰ παιδία αὐτοῦ καὶ Φίνες.
Μὴ ἀμελήσῃς οὖν,

57 πατήρ, ἀποστίλαι πρὸς Ψαεῖν ἀπὸ Τερὸτ ἕνεκεν τῆς ἀρτάβης τοῦ σίτου, καὶ ποίησον

58 Τουβὰν ἀπὸ Ταμούρω ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέλθῃ εἰς Ταμούρω ἕνεκεν τῆς ἀρτάβης τοῦ σίτου·

59 ἡ ἡμέραι γάρ εἰσιν τοῦ λαβῖν αὐτοὺς αὐτάς. Ἀσπάζομε Παῦλον τὸν ἀναγνώστην καὶ ἅπα

60 Ἡλί⟨α⟩ν καὶ Ἀνουβᾶν μέγαν καὶ Ἀ̣νουβᾶν μικρὸν καὶ Παμούτιν καὶ Τιτ̣ούην καὶ τὰ παιδία αὐτοῦ καὶ Ὅρ

61 ἀπὸ Τουμνακῶ̣ν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Παπνούτιν καὶ Λεο-

62 νίδην τὸν ἀδελφὸν α̣[ὐ]τ̣[οῦ] καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἄλλον τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν.

At the foot, the opposite way up :

63 Ἄ[πα Παιηοῦ καὶ Παταβεὶτ] [π(αρὰ)] Κα⟨λ⟩λίστου.

1. παιηοῦ (the stroke of *a* is extended through the *ι* to *o*, making it appear like ψ or τ), παταβεῖτ, καλ'λιστος. 2. l. γινώσκειν. 3. Probably ἐκῖνη; l. ἐκείνῃ (so l. 28). l. Ἡρακλείου. 4. ὕμας. 5. l. ἀναγγεῖλαι. 6. l. ἐκείνην, εἰκάδι. ἴσακ. 7. l. Ἡραίσκον (and so in every case), Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. 8. γεῦσασθαι; the stroke is perhaps accidental. 9. l. στρατιώτας. 10. l. οἰνώμενοι, συγκλείσαντες (so l. 17). 11. l. στρατιῶται. 12. κελ'λαις. 13. l. ἐκείνων, τέσσαρας. 14. l. αἱμαρρόεις; see note. 15. l. Νικοπόλεως, ἐκβαλεῖν. 16. l. εἰσίν, πέντε, ἐκεῖ. αλ'λους. 17. l. προελθεῖν. 18. τοισ'σιγνοις. *o* of προει corr.; l. πρωί. 19. l. Ἡρακλείδην δήσαντες. 20. l. ἐνέτειλαν, ἐπαπειλούμενοι, αἰτίαν. *υ* of μοναχούς corr. from *ι* (?). 21. l. εἴασας, μονῇ. αλ'λον, ἀμ'μωνα. 22. l. συνέκλεισαν, παρήγγειλαν, αὐτῷ. 23. ῖ; l. εἰ. οἱ] δ̣ύ̣ο: Hunt. 24. l. δειλανθῆναι (Hunt). διε̣ιρ[γμέ]νοι: Milne. 25. l. ἐπιλυπούμεθα, ἀπελθεῖν. 26. l. στρατιωτῶν ἔπεμψεν. 27. ἐπαροινήθην. 28. τῇ ἡμερα, ελ'λην. 29. l. ἀθυμεῖ, παρέχει, γραφόμενα. κάματον: Hunt. 30. l. φάσεις, ἐπειδή (so ll. 35, 49). εν'τω. 31. κομιτάτῳ. 32. ἵνα; so ll. 49, 50, 58. 33. ὑιου. 34. l. ἀποσπάσαι, ἀπῆλθεν, Ἀντιοχείᾳ. ἴωαν'νην. 35. l. δεινά. 36. γαμ'ματα. 37. l. τρεῖς. ἔχι: Hunt; l. ἔχει. 39. l. ἐνεβάλετο or -λατο. θαλασ'ση. 40. l. ἀποδημοῦντος. ἤνε⟨γ⟩κεν τὰ σκεύη: Hunt. 41. l. ἵνα. 42. l. γνοῖτε, θλίψει. 43. l. συνέκλεισεν (so l. 44). μακελ'λω. 44. l. διάκονα (so l. 53), φυλακῇ. 45. *α* of παχων corr. from *ο*. The second *κ* of συνκεκλισμένος corr. from λκ; l. συγκεκλεισμένος. 46. l. αἱ. 47. l. ἑβδόμῃ. *ι* of ἀποδημῆσαι re-made. 48. l. Ἔμης (but see note), Τουβεστίου (-ίας ?), ἀμελήσητε. 50. l. τηρῇ. 51. l. ἠγόρασα, εὕρητε εἰδήμονα ἀποστείλατε. 52. l. ἀσπάζομαι; so l. 59. *ο* of πρανουν (see note) corr. from *κ* or *ι*. The writer perhaps began to write καί too soon. 53. l. Θέωνα. 54. l. Εὐδαίμονα. 55. ἴερακαν. 56. First λ of κολλουθον corr. from *π*. ἴωσηπ. 57. l. πάτερ, ἀποστεῖλαι. 59. l. αἱ (see note), λαβεῖν. 61. l. Λεωνίδην. 62. αλ'λον.

'To my beloved brother Apa Paiêou and Patabeit, priests, Callistus greeting in the Lord God. We wish you to know the events which have occurred here; for you heard at the time what we suffered that night at the house of Heraclius the recorder. For there were also certain brethren of them that came to you with us in the house and they can themselves inform you of what occurred. Well, after that day, on the twenty-fourth of Pachon, Isaac the Bishop of Letopolis came to Heraiscus at Alexandria, and he desired to dine with the Bishop in the Camp. So the adherents of Athanasius, hearing of it, came bringing with them soldiers of the Dux and of the Camp; they came in a drunken state at the ninth hour, having shut the Camp, wishing to seize both him and the brethren. So certain soldiers who were in the Camp and had the fear of

God in their hearts, hearing of it, took them and hid them in the store-chambers in the Camp; and when they could not be found they went out and found four brethren coming into the Camp; and they beat them and made them all bloody, so that they were in danger of death, and cast them forth outside Nicopolis. After they had cast them forth they departed again to the Gate of the Sun, to the hostel in which the brethren are entertained, and they seized five others there and confined them in the Camp in the evening; and they shut them up till the *praepositus* came out to the guard-room towards morning; and the *praepositus* and the scribe took them and he ordered them to be cast forth out of Nicopolis; and Heraclides the keeper of the hostel they bound and maltreated, threatening and enjoining him: 'For what reason did you admit the monks of the Meletian party into the hostel?' Another brother Ammon, who was in the Camp and himself receives the brethren, they shut up in the Camp, forbidding him to receive monks in his house. For there is no other brother but these two who receives the brethren; they made them play the coward. So we are greatly afflicted, being separated by them each in his own place; and so we are troubled that they will not suffer us to depart to the *papas* Heraiscus and visit him; for on the night in which the brethren were maltreated the *praepositus* of the soldiers sent a report to the Bishop saying: 'I sinned and was drunken in the night, in that I maltreated the brethren'. And that day he had a service said, though he is a Gentile, on account of the sin which he committed. Athanasius is very despondent, and on his side he causes us distress by reason of the writings and the reports that come to him from abroad, since the Emperor, having found Macarius abroad at court, . . . to –yrus writing . . . that having bound him and . . . he should . . ., in order that . . . So Archelaus the . . . and . . . having departed with Athanasius son of Capito, wishing to carry off Macarius, the report came to Apa John at Antioch; he came and seized them and put them under arrest, because they had written vile slanders against Heraiscus, and Archelaus himself took the letters abroad. It was God who sent the three of them abroad and keeps them abroad! So Athanasius heard this news, that Archelaus was arrested, and Athanasius is very despondent. Often (?) did they come for him, and till now he has not left the country; but he had his baggage embarked at sea as though he would leave the country, and then again he took his baggage off the ship, not wishing to leave the country. . . . I have written to you in order that you might know in what affliction we are; for he carried off a Bishop of the Lower Country and shut him in the Meat Market, and a priest of the same region he shut in the lock-up, and a deacon in the principal prison, and till the twenty-eighth of Pachon Heraiscus too has been confined in the Camp—I thank God our Master that the scourgings which he endured have ceased—, and on the twenty-seventh he caused seven Bishops to leave the country; Emês and Peter are of their number, the son of Toubestis. Do not neglect us then, brethren, since they left behind the bread, in order that it might not be taken outside, on account of the Bishop, to the intent that he might keep it by him. For when buying loaves for our sustenance I bought at 14 talents the artaba of wheat. As soon therefore as you find a competent person send me a few loaves. I greet my father Prauous (?) and all the brethren who are with him, and Theon

the deacon and Saprion and Horion and Papnutius and Apa Sarmates and Paomius and Pior and Eudaemon and Apa Tryphon and Gerontius and Apa Hierax and Apa Helenas and Apa Harêous and Apa Piam and Cornelius and Pisatius and Colluthus and Joseph and his children and Phines. So do not neglect, my father, to send to Psais of Terot for the artaba of wheat, and cause Touan of Tamourô as well to depart to Tamourô for the artaba of wheat; for the days are come when they should receive them. I greet Paul the lector and Apa Elias and Anubas the elder and Anubas the younger and Pamutius and Titouês and his children and Hor of Toumnakon and all his brethren who are with him and Papnutius and Leonides his brother and the other brother who is with them'. (Addressed) 'To Apa Paiêou and Patabeit, from Callistus.'

1. Παταβείτ: greeted also in **1920**, and perhaps to be identified with the Πα̣τ̣αβαεῖτ̣[ο]ς πρεσβυτέρου Ἱππώνων of **1913**, 9. For the name Mr. Crum compares W. Spiegelberg, *Eigennamen*, p. 47*, Ταβεῖτ, gen. Ταβεῖτος. For Παιηοῦ and the various forms of the name see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, *s.v.* Παϊεῦς, and cf. too Πιηοῦς, P. Oxy. xvi, 1890, 2.

3. ἐξάφινα: ἔξαφνα or ἄξαφνα is the modern Greek form of ἐξαίφνης, and in I. G. Rom. iii, 1145, 4 occurs the form ἐξεφάνης, illustrating the insertion, in the present case, of a vowel between φ and ν.

τά: for this common use of the definite article in place of the relative see P. Oxy. xvi, 1862, 27, n.

3 f. Ἡρακλέου τοῦ κο⟨μ⟩μενταρησίου: Athan., *Hist. Ar.*, 48, mentions Ἡράκλειός τις τῷ ἀξιώματι κόμης as the διάκονος of the letter written by Constantius to incite the Alexandrines against Athanasius. This was before his third exile, A.D. 356. Since the Heraclius here mentioned was a Meletian and also an official (for the *commentarienses* see, e.g., P. Oxy. xvi, 1877, 2, n.), it seems by no means unlikely that he is the same person as the *comes* of 356.

4. εἰσὶν κτλ.: the exact sense, given the common confusion of ὑμεῖς and ἡμεῖς, is not certain. We may interpret either as 'for there are certain brethren of them that came to you with *you* (l. ὑμῶν for ἡμῶν) in (*your*) house', or as 'for there were (*historical present*) . . . with *us* in (*his*) house' (i.e. that of Heraclius). The latter seems preferable; Callistus may even, as Prof. Hunt suggests, have originally intended to write something like τῶν γενομένων μεθ' ἡμῶν; or possibly there may be a confusion of εἰσίν and ἦσαν (cf. the form ἠσίν, probably for εἰσίν but conceivably for ἦσαν, in l. 16). But neither supposition is really necessary, in view of the awkwardness of the writer's style.

5. ἀναγ⟨γ⟩εῖλαι: for the omission of the γ cf. παρηγιλαν, l. 22; ηνεκεν, ll. 40, 42.

6. εἰκάζι: for the confusion of δ and ζ see **1786**, 17, n. A specially good instance occurs in P. Oxy. xvi, 1901, 61: βαζηδον for βαδίζων.

Ἰσάκ: mentioned in the 'brief' given by Meletius to Alexander, Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 71: Ἰσαὰκ ἐν Ληταῦς; see M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, ii, 522, 610. He evidently played a prominent part in the attack on Athanasius at the Synod of Tyre, for Ischyras (the hero of the chalice incident), in his letter to Athanasius, excuses himself for his false accusations on the ground of βίας μοι γενομένης, καὶ πληγῶν ἐπιτεθεισῶν ἀπὸ [l. ὑπὸ?] Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἡρακλείδου, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ τῆς Ληταῦς, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς (Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 64). He was also present at Tyre, where he (unless this was the other Isaac) accused Athanasius of violence towards him, probably with reference to the events here recorded: Sozomen, ii, 25, καὶ Εὔπλους δὲ καὶ Παχώμιος, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἀχιλλᾶς καὶ Ἑρμαίων τῶν ἀμφ' Ἰωάννην [Archaph] ἐπίσκοποι πληγῶν αὐτοῦ κατηγόρουν. He signed the letter of the Oriental Council of Sardica (Hilary of Poictiers, iv, p. 77).

7. Ἡραείσκον: Heraiscus was apparently a person of some importance, since the Athanasian party thought it worth while to disseminate accusations against him, even outside Egypt (see ll. 35–6; cf. too l. 25 f., where Callistus complains that he is not allowed to visit him, and l. 45 f., where he is kept imprisoned in the camp), and it is curious that he appears to be unknown to all our authorities for this period. In l. 25 he is called πάπας, a word (see l. 25, n.) which may denote either a bishop or a priest. Since in the present passage

ἠθέλησεν is naturally referred to Isaac, in which case τοῦ ἐπισκόπου might, in view of l. 25 f., 45 f., be Heraiscus, one is tempted to wonder whether the latter was a sort of antipope, set up by the Meletians in opposition to Athanasius. It is a serious objection to this view that neither Athanasius nor any of the ecclesiastical historians should refer to him; and it may therefore be better to take πάπας as 'priest', to make Heraiscus the subject of ἠθέλησεν, and to refer τοῦ ἐπισκόπου to Isaac. Even as a mere presbyter Heraiscus may have been a person of considerable importance (for the position of the Alexandrian presbyters see, e.g., E. Schwartz, *G. G. N.*, 1908, 366 f.), perhaps the leader of the Meletian opposition in Alexandria. There is, however, support for the other view in ll. 48–50 (see note there), and we cannot exclude it. The omission of Athanasius to mention him (which is in any case curious) may have been deliberate, and the historians in the main depend for their Egyptian history on Athanasius. It is not likely that he lived in the camp, which may well have been a favourite place of rendezvous. There were Meletian soldiers there (l. 11 f.).

8. γεύσασθαι: for the use of this word as 'dine', 'take a meal', see, e.g., *Apophth. Patrum*, Arsen. 24: ἂν ἀποσχίσῃς τὰ θαλλία σου, ἐλθὲ γεῦσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ; Ammon. 10: ἦλθέ ποτε . . . εἰς τόπον γεύσασθαι; Sozomen, i, 11: εἰώθει μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπισυνάπτειν τὴν νηστείαν, καὶ εἰς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν γεύεσθαι.

παρεμβολῇ: the sequel shows that this was the great camp near the suburb of Nicopolis, for which see E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* (Engl. ed.), p. 87, and the map at the end. See, however, l. 15, n., below.

9. καί (first): superfluous.

στρατιότας . . . παρεμβολῆς: i.e. troops under the immediate command of the Dux and soldiers quartered in the camp itself.

10. ὥρᾳ ἐνάτῃ: in the second and third, and evidently still in the fourth, century the fashionable hour for dinner; cf. P. Oxy. 110, 111, 523, 927, 1755. In Oxy. 1485 (second or early third cent.) and 1214 (fifth cent.), however, we find the seventh hour, in Oxy. 1486 and 1487 (third to fourth cent.) the eighth; but as Grenfell and Hunt remark (Oxy. 1484–7, intr.), the difference may be due only to the change in the time of sunrise.

11. [ο]ἱ: though ο is lost and little of ι remains (the foot only), the reading is practically certain; [τῶ]ν is impossible.

12. ἦρκαν: cf. l. 36. The word must be from αἴρω, a confusion of perfect with aorist; cf. Jannaris, §§ 1861, 1870–5.

κέλλαις: for the meaning 'store-chambers' see F. Luckhard, *Privathaus*, 65 f., and the instances there collected.

13. ἐγβάντων αὐτῶν: probably this refers to the Athanasians, who were apparently leaving the camp when they met the other Meletians entering. Thus ἐγβάντων αὐτῶν is used for ἐγβάντες. This is preferable to referring the words to the concealed Meletians: 'when they could not be found (for they had gone out).'

ἐρχομένους ἐν κτλ.: for the confusion of the prepositions of motion and rest see, e.g., **1334**, 7, n.; Ghedini, p. 314.

14. κατακόψαντες: cf., e.g., Athan., *Hist. Ar.*, 55: τὰ δὲ τῶν παρθένων ἅγια σώματα κατέκοπτον πληγαῖς.

ἐμαρώεις: perhaps merely an ignorant blunder for αἱμόρρους, but a form ending in *-ρόης*, though apparently not recorded, seems possible.

15. Νικοπώλεως: everything shows that the camp and Nicopolis were in close connexion (see l. 8, n.); indeed they might be synonymous, but it is natural to identify the camp with that of which remains existed till recently (see Breccia, *loc. cit.*), which was outside Nicopolis proper, and nearer to Alexandria, on the coast. Possibly the camp or Nicopolis had by the fourth century been so extended that they joined. At all events it seems clear that 'Nicopolis' was also used as the name of the whole area within which the camp was situated.

15 f. ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τοῦ Ἡλίου: this was the great east gate of Alexandria, corresponding to the Gate of the Moon on the west.

16. μονῇ: regularly used at this period (e. g., Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 67: Πίννης πρεσβύτερος μονῆς Πτεμεγκύρκεως) as 'monastery'; but it also frequently had the sense of *mansio*, i.e. a hostel or lodging for the night, for the use of travellers, and hence came to mean 'stages' of a journey; e.g., Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 29: οἱ ἀπὸ τριάκοντα καὶ ἓξ μονῶν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ὀνομάσαντές τινα ὡς ἐπίσκοπον ξένον. The mention of the μονάριος (l. 19, n.) perhaps favours the second sense. It seems not improbable that in SB. 5748, 6 μονῆς is to be taken in the same sense rather than, as Preisigke understands it (SB. ii, p. 367), 'monastery'.

ἠσίν: probably, as stated in the critical note, for εἰσίν, ει and η being pronounced alike, but a past sense would be equally appropriate, and it is conceivable that ἦσαν was in the writer's mind; cf. l. 4, n.

ἀδελφοί: i. e., as throughout, the Meletian monks.

17. πραιπόσιτον: i. e., no doubt, the *praepositus castrorum*, for whom see Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 407; *Cod. Just.*, i, 46, 4; xii, 59, 8.

18. ἐν τοῖς σίγνοις: cf. P. Lond. 413, 12, 16 (ii, p. 301 f.), passages which show that the *signa*, no doubt the centre or other part of the camp where the *signa* or standards (see W. Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*, *s.v.*; R. Grosse, *Röm. Militärgesch.*, p. 232 f.) were kept, included store-rooms. We know that at an earlier time the eagles and apparently even the *signa* (Tacitus, *Ann.*, i, 39) were sacred and were used on occasion as sanctuary. It is not unnatural that the place where they were kept should come to be used for purposes of storage, and perhaps became a sort of camp head-quarters. The present passage proves further the presence at the *signa* of a guard-room or military prison (or at least of an apartment which could, on occasion, be used as such), and is thus important as clearing up a hitherto unexplained use of ⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩ in Coptic as 'prison'. For this use see Crum, *Catal.*, no. 1224, where in an imprecation the writer hopes that his enemy may 'be friendless in the ⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩ'; *Short Texts*, 389, where, in a letter full of complaints, the writer declares: 'they confined me in the ⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩ'; F. Rossi, *Nuovo codice copto*, p. 88 f., where a (military) martyr is confined in the ⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩ; 1709, 88, ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩ, 'the deacon of the prison' (this, rather than 'prisons', as Thompson translates, is perhaps the true rendering in view of the Greek σίγνα). Mr. Crum quotes an instance of σιγνοφύλαξ in an ostracon (*Monastery of Epiphanius*, Part II, p. 201, no. 177) which he is editing for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. From ⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩ no doubt comes the Arabic *sijn*, 'prison' (A. A. Bevan, *Vol. of Or. Stud. pres. to E. G. Browne*, p. 71, accepts this derivation, suggested by Crum). The succession of meanings is then: standard (*signum*), place where the standards are kept, including guard-room (*signa*, σίγνα), prison (σίγνα, ⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩ, *sijn*).

σκρίβας: no doubt a military scribe, on the staff of the *praepositus*. ἐκέλευσεν doubtless refers only to the latter.

19. μονάριν: the word appears to be new. As to its meaning there is hardly room for doubt; the μονάριος was clearly the keeper or porter of the μονή. Though μονάριος does not seem to occur elsewhere, reference may be made to G. Loewe, *Corp. Gloss. Lat.*, v, 423, 'Mansionarius hostiarius qui custodit edem', and cf. the common word παραμονάριος (Crum). *Mansionarius* and παραμονάριος refer to the custodian of a church or the porter of a monastery, and such may be the sense of μονάριος here, in which case μονή means 'monastery'; but Heraclides seems to have had complete authority to receive or reject visitors, and there is no reference to any superior (cf. ll. 20–1, 23–4); hence 'hostel' and 'keeper of the hostel' are perhaps likelier.

24. ἐποίησαν κτλ.: i. e., all the others had been intimidated into refusing hospitality to the Meletians.

25. As appears from ll. 44 ff., Heraiscus was imprisoned in the camp, at least till Pachon 28. Perhaps this was why Callistus was unable to visit him; or, if we suppose that he was released on the 28th and that this letter was written later, it may be that the condition of his release was that he should hold no communication with the other Meletians. As pointed out above (l. 7, n.), the use of the word πάπας is interesting. According to the established usage (which goes back at least to the thirteenth century), the word, when perispomenon, denotes a priest, when paroxytone, the bishop of one of the patriarchal sees (Alexandria, Rome, &c.), but as A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*[4], p. 186[7], points out, this is 'wohl gelehrte Spielerei'. For the early use of the word in both senses see Deissmann, *l. c.*; Harnack, *Stzgsber. d. Kön. Pr. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1900, 990–1; P. M. Meyer, on P. Giss. 55, p. 92 f. It was still in the fourth century (and far later in the petitions in the liturgy, though one may call this an archaism; Crum) specially used of the Bishop of Alexandria (e. g., in the letter of Ischyras, Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 64: μακαρίῳ πάπᾳ Ἀθανασίῳ; 71: ὁ πάπας Ἀλέξανδρος), but it also occurs of a village priest, as in P. Lond. ii, 417 (= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 129), 3: Καὸρ πάπας Ἑρμουπόλεως. There is therefore no objection to translating it 'priest', except that πρεσβύτερος is elsewhere used in that sense, which suggests that πάπας here means the Bishop of Alexandria, and, as pointed out in the note on l. 7, this finds some support in ll. 48–50.

28. ἐποίησεν κτλ.: the division (Ἕλλην ὤν) and interpretation are due to Prof. Hunt.

For Ἕλλῆνες as = 'pagans' see, e. g., Athan., *Hist. Ar.*, 55–8, and many other instances.

29–32. διὰ τὰ γραφώμενα might well, in the Greek of this writer, mean 'by his writings', which gives excellent sense, and would furnish a parallel to Athan., *Hist. Ar.*, 30, where the enemies of Athanasius complain αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἤδη πεπλήρωκε τὰ πανταχοῦ γράφων καθ' ἡμῶν; but this does not accord with τὰς φάσις . . . ἔξωθεν. We must therefore take διά in the correct sense as 'owing to', and suppose the writer to mean that Athanasius's proceedings against the Meletians were measures of revenge or self-defence, due to reports of the campaign against him which was being carried on abroad; ἔξω, ἔξωθεν seem usually in this letter to mean outside *Egypt*, i. e. 'abroad'. Hence the clause ἐπιδὴ κτλ. should be an explanation of what precedes, stating what it was that had roused Athanasius's resentment or suspicion. The mutilation of ll. 31–2 is particularly unfortunate, because the passage is crucial for the understanding of the situation implied in the letter. The general sense is clear: the Emperor, making some discovery concerning Macarius, wrote to somebody to arrest him (or another), in order that further action might be taken; whereupon three agents or partisans of Athanasius set out in order to ἀποσπάσαι Macarius. The natural rendering of l. 30 is 'finding Macarius at court', but if αὐτόν in l. 31 refers to Macarius the γράψας is strange in that case. Moreover, if Macarius was, as is extremely probable (see introd.), the priest accused of breaking a chalice, he should have been in Egypt, though that is not absolutely necessary, since he may have gone to court on business of Athanasius and have been taken from there to Tyre for the Synod; but see Socrates, i, 28: καὶ ἦγετο μὲν Μακάριος ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας σιδηροδέσμιος διὰ στρατιωτικῆς χειρός. Athanasius (*Apol. c. Ar.*, 71: καὶ ὁ μὲν Μακάριος δέσμιος διὰ στρατιωτῶν πέμπεται εἰς Τύρον· ἐμοὶ δὲ γράφει καὶ ἀνάγκην ἐπιτίθησιν· ὥστε καὶ ἄκοντας ἡμᾶς ἀποστέλλεσθαι) does not mention whence Macarius was taken, and his πέμπεται . . . ἐμοὶ δὲ γράφει is not unfavourable to the supposition that he was not in Alexandria at the time; Socrates's ἐκ τῆς Ἀ. may be nothing more than a (natural) inference. Now Athanasius (*Apol. c. Ar.*, 60) mentions Apis and Macarius (Socrates, i, 27, gives the first name as Alypius) as the priests who were at court when the Eusebians brought forward their accusation about the linen garments and by whose efforts the accusation was quashed. He gives no locality; Socrates, *l. c.*, says it was Nicomedia. A Macarius, then at Constantinople, was his authority for his account of the death of Arius (*Ep. ad Serap.*, 2). The name was a common one, but the priest associated with Apis may not improbably be identical with the Macarius of the chalice incident, and if so the translation 'finding Macarius at court' is perhaps correct, though the γράψας is unexpected. An alternative interpretation is to suppose an infinitive in l. 31 after κομιδά[τῳ and to render 'having found that Macarius had [done something] at court', but the artificial order seems too literary for this writer. Is then αὐτόν to be referred to some one else? Perhaps to Athanasius? There is no hint in what follows that Athanasius was threatened with arrest, indeed the implication throughout is that he was a free agent, and the second supposition must be ruled out; moreover ἀποσπάσ⟨αι⟩ in l. 34 clearly means 'to carry off', in the sense of rescuing, and therefore implies that Macarius was a prisoner. Hence αὐτόν is best referred to him; the Emperor's letter may have been written later, after Macarius had left the court; or a written order to an official there present is not impossible. At all events it is clear that the Macarius here referred to was not in Egypt when this letter was written and improbable that he was brought from Egypt; cf. too l. 34, n.

]ύρῳ should be an official's name; Ταμο]ύρω (l. 58; see note) is inappropriate.]. ανυρους (the reading is practically certain, though αντους is possible, and even perhaps ανυρους) is rather intractable, and the reading at the end of l. 31 and beginning of l. 32 very puzzling. καταεπι[τα or καταεστι[λα can be read, but it is not very satisfactory to credit the writer with κἄτα ἔπιτα (= ἔπειτα), and ἔστιλα seems quite inappropriate to the context. The letter before ε looks like π, but καὶ πέπιθα (= πέποιθα) cannot be read. For ἀπο in l. 32 αὐτο is equally possible.

32 f. Ἀρχελάου: an Archelaus is mentioned by several of the later authorities (not by Athanasius himself) in connexion with the Synod of Tyre and the affair of Arsenius. The passages are: Socr., i, 29: ἔτυχε δέ πως τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ Ἀρχελάου οἰκέτας ἐν καπηλείῳ ἀκοῦσαι λεγόντων τινῶν ὡς Ἀρσένιος ὁ λεγόμενος ἀνῃρῆσθαι πάρεστιν ἔν τινος οἰκίᾳ κρυπτόμενος (he then inquires and informs Ath.; shortly before the Synod; cf. Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 65: ἐγνώσθη κρυπτόμενος ὁ Ἀρσένιος, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν Τύρῳ πάλιν κρυπτόμενον αὐτὸν εὗρον οἱ ἡμέτεροι); Rufinus, *H. E.*, i, 16: 'idque [concilium] apud Tyrum (misso e latere

suo uno ex comitibus, adnitente quoque Archelao tunc comite Orientis, nec non et eo qui Phoenicem provinciam gubernabat) congregari iubet'; 17: 'Archelaus, qui cum caeteris ex praecepto Imperatoris concilio praesidebat' (rescues Ath. from his enemies); *Vita Anon. Ath.* (Migne, *P. G.*, xxv), § 12: Ἀρχέλαον τοιγαροῦν ἄνδρα τῶν αὐτῷ (the Emperor) *συνεστίων καὶ ὁμοφόρων* [l. *ὁμοφρόνων*?], ἅμα καὶ Νόννῳ τότε Φοινίκης ἄρχοντι, *κατὰ ζήτησιν τῶν τοιούτων ἐκπέμπει*; § 14: Arch. saves Ath., ἦν δὲ Ἀρχέλαος οὗτος τοῦ κριτηρίου μὲν *προεστώς· τἆλλα δὲ καὶ σωφρονέστατος καὶ ἐπιοικέστατος, καὶ εἰπεῖν ἱκανώτατος, εἰ δέ που καὶ θανάτου δέοι καταφρονεῖν ἑτοιμότατος*; Photius, *Ath. Vita* (Migne, *tom. cit.*), § 6: *προχειρίζεται τὸ βασιλικὸν βούλημα ἄνδρα συνέστιον καὶ ὁμόφρονα* Ἀρχέλαον ὄνομα, *καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν Φοινίκης ἄρχοντα συνεδριάσαι τε τοῖς περὶ Εὐσέβιον, καὶ συνδιασκέψασθαι ἃ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀθανασίου συνεσκεύαστο*; § 7 (rescues Ath.); Metaphrastes, *Ath. Vita* (Migne, *tom. cit.*), § 7 (same account as Photius); § 8 (rescues Ath.; *ἦν γὰρ καὶ τοῦ κριτηρίου ἔξαρχος, καὶ τἆλλα ἐπιεικέστατος, καὶ δυνατὸς τῷ κρατοῦντι ἀπολογήσασθαι, εἴπου δὲ καὶ θανάτου περιφρονῆσαι ἕτοιμος*). All these authorities, except perhaps Socrates, are suspect, for the accounts they give of the Synod of Tyre are demonstrably inaccurate in various points. In what they say of Archelaus it is certainly false that he was president of the Synod; that position was occupied by the Count Dionysius, as appears, e.g., from Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 28, 71, 72, 78 ff., and there is nothing in Athanasius's account to indicate that he had colleagues. Common to all the accounts, however, is the fact that Archelaus was a man of high rank, and that he was of service to Athanasius; all the authors are very favourable to him, except perhaps Photius (see § 7 of his Life). The Archelaus of **1914** was a partisan of Athanasius, and was involved in the dispute with the Meletians and Eusebians; and it is very tempting to identify him with the Archelaus of the literary tradition and in l. 33 to read *τοῦ [ὑπατικοῦ*. Of course if Rufinus is correct in making Archelaus Comes Orientis the identification is impossible, but Rufinus's authority is small. As regards *ὑπατικοῦ* it is an objection that Archelaus and his companions were arrested by 'Apa John'; for even if this is John Archaph (l. 34, n.) it is not likely that he would venture to arrest a *consularis*. It may be that our Archelaus, a partisan of Athanasius, has been confused by the writers quoted with another Archelaus, a *consularis* and perhaps Comes Orientis. There was a well-known Archelaus, Bishop of Caschara in Mesopotamia, who was active in the controversy with the Manichaeans (see Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, ed. C. H. Beeson, *Griech. Christl. Schriftst.*, Leipzig, 1906); but there is no reason whatever to connect him with Athanasius. The Archelaus *ὁ κόμης* of Athan., *Vita Antonii*, 61, may be identical with the Archelaus of the Tyre tradition, since he had connexions with Laodicea.

33. Ἀθαν[ασίου το]ῦ *υἱοῦ Καπίτωνος*: the letter which the Council of Sardica (A. D. 342 according to E. Schwartz, *G. G. N.*, 1904, p. 341, 1911, pp. 515 ff.; on the other hand Lauchert, p. 55 and note 138, adheres to the date 343) addressed to the Church of Alexandria refers to this person in the following terms (Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 40): *ἔγνωμεν ὅτι καὶ* Ἀφθόνιος *καὶ* Ἀθανάσιος *ὁ Καπίτωνος καὶ* Παῦλος *καὶ* Πλουτίων, *οἱ συμπρεσβύτεροι ἡμῶν, συσκευὴν καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐξορισμοῦ πειραθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ θανάτων ἀπειλὰς διαπεφευγέναι*; cf. § 17, *ad fin.*, where the Synod of Alexandria (A. D. 339 according to Lauchert, p. 50; 338 in A. Robertson, *Nicene and P.-N. Fathers*, iv, p. lxxxvi) states: *καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι τῆς* Ἀλεξανδρείας *τέσσαρες κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν* [the Synod of Tyre], *καίτοι μηδὲ εἰς Τύρον ἐξελθόντες, ὑπερόριοι παρ' αὐτῶν γεγόνασιν*. Probably it was this Athanasius who, as a fellow-deacon with the saint, signed the circular letter of Alexander, Migne, *P. G.*, xviii, 572–82. It appears from the passages quoted above that he was exiled at the Synod of Tyre, and it may be inferred that the reason for this was his proceedings recorded in the text. It is by no means impossible that the third person, whose name is lost in the lacuna in l. 33, was one of the three mentioned along with Athanasius son of Capito by the Council of Sardica. As room must be found for a name or epithet after *τοῦ* and for *καί*, *Παύλου* suits the space best.

34. *ἀποσπάσε*: see ll. 29–32, n.

ἅπα Ἰωάννην: it seems highly probable that this is the Bishop John Archaph, the leader of the Meletians after Meletius's death; see above, p. 40. He was probably abroad at this time, for he was prominent in the proceedings connected with the Synod of Tyre, after which he was banished by Constantine. Epiphanius states that after the failure of the mission to the Emperor (see above, p. 41) Archaph and his companions spent some time (*χρονοτριβῆσαι*) at Constantinople and Nicomedia, where they concluded their alliance with the Eusebian party. As pointed out above (p. 55), this alliance cannot well be earlier than 330. After the first break-down of the Arsenius and Ischyras charges the Emperor

summoned Archaph to court (Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 70); and since he was acting in concert with the Eusebians before and during the Synod of Tyre it seems likely that he remained in Asia till it met. If therefore **1914** was written in 335 it is natural to find Archaph at Antioch (see however next note). That he is not called Bishop is no difficulty. In l. 6 f. Isaac is given his title in order to identify him, but Callistus's correspondents doubtless knew all about Archaph. For *ἄπα* applied to a Bishop see PSI. iii, 216, 4; Oxy. xvi, 1900, 5; 1967, 3 (*ἀββᾶ* in the first two cases is equivalent to *ἄπα*). Mr. Crum adds that *ἄπα* is the regular and invariable use in Coptic, where it practically = *ἀββᾶ*. It is clear from the context, if the punctuation adopted is correct, (1) that the three Athanasians were not at Antioch, (2) that they were in Asia, not Egypt, and probably not very far from Antioch. Macarius may already have been taken to Tyre; or possibly he was *en route* thither, i. e. presumably from Nicomedia or some other place in Asia Minor, and so may at the moment have been near Antioch; but Tyre itself is not too far from Antioch to suit the context. Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 17, quoted above (l. 33, n.), is however against the supposition that they went to Tyre.

ἐν Ἀντιοχίᾳ: it is of course conceivable that the colon should be placed after *Ἰωάννην*, thus making John go *to* Antioch; but the order this would involve is not so likely in the writer of our letter as that adopted in the text.

36. *καὶ . . . ἔξω*: the meaning is apparently that it was Archelaus who was conveying the *γράμματα* out of Egypt. Strictly, since *ἦσαν γράψαντες* refers to the three, these *γράμματα* should be their own, but it may be suspected, especially in view of l. 37 f., that they were, or included, letters (perhaps a circular letter) of Athanasius himself.

36 f. *ὁ θεὸς . . . ἔξω*: awkwardly put, but the readings, with the exception of the two dotted letters, seem certain, and a reasonable sense is given if we suppose the writer to mean, in effect, 'a good riddance!' The three went abroad with a nefarious design, but the result was that they were arrested and unable to return, much to the inconvenience of Athanasius (l. 37 f.); the whole affair was really providential.

38. Perhaps ⟨*καὶ*⟩ should be inserted after *συνεσχέθη*, but the abrupt, disconnected clauses are not surprising in the style of this writer.

πολλαχῶς: 'in many ways' seems inappropriate; probably the writer had in his mind *πολλάκις*.

41. *βουλόμενος*: the last letter looks more like *υ* than *ς*, and very possibly *βουλομένου* was written. But *ἀ[π]οδημῆ[σ]α[ι]* is likelier after it than *αὐτοῦ*. The sentence probably ended with *ἀποδημῆσαι*. *ἔγραψα* could be read at either the first or the second *ψ*, but the traces after the first might be *μ* rather than *α*. *εἶνα* seems very probable, and the general sense (which was suggested by Prof. Hunt) can be regarded as almost certain.

42. *ἦγε⟨γ⟩κεν*: evidently Athanasius is the subject.

ἐπίσκοπον: very probable, though no single letter is quite certain. '*A* Bishop', though *τινί* is not added; cf. l. 43, *πρεσβύτερον*.

43. *μακέλλῳ*: cf., e. g., Socr., i, 38: *τοῦ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ μακέλλου*; *Stud. Pal.*, xx, 68 v., ii, 5–6: *Ἀδριανείου καὶ τῆς ἐκ λιβὸς στοᾶς καὶ μακέλλου καὶ στοᾶς ἐκτὸς μακέλλου*; 1 Cor., x, 25: *πᾶν τὸ ἐν μακέλλῳ πωλούμενον ἐσθίετε*.

44. *ἀπλικίτῳ*: the word (cf., e. g., **1416**, 23; **1435**, 125, where the form *ἄπληκτον* is used) means 'camp', and hence should be synonymous with *παρεμβολή*, but here the two words are evidently used with a different application. There is, however, a word *ἀπλικιτάριος*, which denotes a subordinate official of the *commentariensis* (see Joh. Lydus, *De Mag.*, iii, 8, 16), who was himself a member of the Ducal *officium*. G. Rouillard, *L'adm. civ. de l'Égypte byzantine*, p. 42 (cf. P. Cairo Masp. iii, 67287, iv, 1, n.) translates 'gardien de prison', but his functions, as defined by Lydus, were rather those of a tipstaff or constable; Lydus calls him *ῥαβδοῦχος*. Since however, when an interval elapsed between arrest and the opening of the court, some place of detention must be found for the custody of prisoners, and since the title *ἀπλικιτάριος* in the above sense is difficult to account for if *ἀπλίκιτον* meant nothing but 'camp', it is a likely inference that the latter word was also used to denote a lock-up or place of temporary detention. Hence the rendering in the translation. (Prof. H. Stuart Jones accepts the above interpretation of the word.)

φοιλακῇ: probably a civil prison.

46 f. *εὐχαριστῶ . . . εἶχεν*: apparently an interjected clause, the main sentence continuing at *καί*; hence the punctuation in the text.

47. ἐποίησεν . . . ἀποδημῆσαι: i. e., banished them or caused them to be banished. This illustrates the powers exercised by the Bishops of Alexandria.

48. Ἔμις . . . Τουβέστις: the text is not satisfactory, but all the single letters except εμ are certain or practically so, and no alternative division of words suggests itself. The objections to the text are: (1) the use of a singular verb; (2) the awkward position of υἱὸς Τουβέστις; (3) the unusual name Ἔμις. As regards the last, a name Ἔμην (accus.), not marked as doubtful, occurs in P. Fay. 37, 1 (3rd cent.), but no other instance is recorded in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*. The first letter might be σ, as the cross-stroke has almost wholly disappeared, and αλ could be read for μ; ἐν οἷς, suggested by Prof. Hunt, is impossible. In the 'brief' of Meletius occurs a Bishop Κάλης ἐν Ἑρμέθῃ, and if we take the apparent rewriting of the long ι in μησαι as the upstroke of κ, Κάλις could be read here; but the form of the letter would be quite unlike that of any other κ in this hand. The use of ἐστίν for εἰσίν is not an insuperable objection to the reading adopted, as Callistus was shaky in his grammar; and the following words (referring to Peter) may be an afterthought. εἰς αὐτούς ἐστιν can easily mean 'is (*sc.* are) among them'. The name Τουβέστις (suggested by Mr. Crum in preference to τοῦ βέστις, first read) does not seem to occur elsewhere, but is probably confirmed by **1918** (acquired since this commentary was first written), where the name Πετθυβέστιος (l. 7) is simply a masculine formation from the feminine Τουβέστις (l. -τία?); cf. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, *s.v.* Πετοβάστις. The name probably contains that of the goddess Ubastis; cf. F. Ll. Griffith, *Cat. of Dem. Pap. in the John Rylands Library*, iii, 206[47] (Crum). There is a court title βέστης (= *Vestis*) which occurs in later writers, e. g. Cedrenus, p. 760 D, 762 A, 771 A *bis*, but the gap in time between the fourth and the eleventh century is so great that it is much better to read Τουβέστις as a name.

Πέτρος is probably to be identified with the Πέτρος ἐν Ἡρακλεοῦς of Meletius's 'brief'. It is true that H. M. Gwatkin (*Studies of Arianism*, p. 71[1]) apparently identifies the latter with the Πέτρος who signed the letter of the Egyptian Bishops on behalf of Athanasius to Dionysius at the Synod of Tyre (Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 78–9), and if this is correct he must by then have made his peace with Athanasius. But he may have done so after, and in consequence of, the banishment here mentioned; and in any case the name was a common one. There is certainly more reason, if a choice has to be made, for identifying the Peter of the 'brief' with the Meletian Bishop of **1914** than with the partisan of Athanasius who signed at Tyre.

48–50. An obscure and difficult passage, since it is by no means clear at first sight (1) who τὰ ψωμία ἀφῆκαν ὀπίσω, (2) who the Bishop referred to is, (3) who is the subject of τ(ή)ρῃ, or (4) why the leaving behind of the bread made Callistus's supply insufficient. The interpretation adopted in the translation and critical notes is due to Prof. Hunt. It involves the supposition that the order in the text is illogical and confused: what the writer meant to say was: ἀφῆκαν ὀπίσω διὰ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἵνα μὴ ἔξω ἀρθῇ ἀλλὰ τηρηθῇ μετ' αὐτοῦ. But who is the Bishop and how was Callistus affected by this? Prof. Hunt agrees in decisively rejecting the idea that τὸν ἐπίσκοπον was Athanasius, whose election was opposed and its validity later impugned by the Meletians, and who is not elsewhere given the episcopal title in this letter. Some such explanation as the following may meet the case: The clergy, &c., of Alexandria seem to have been entitled to a regular (free?) distribution of bread, and Athanasius repeatedly complains that during the Arian domination the Catholics were deprived of their bread supply, e. g., *Hist. Ar.*, 10: ἄλλους ἐδήμευον, ἄλλων ἄρτους ἀφηροῦντο (at the time of Athanasius's third exile); 31: [Constantius writes to the prefect] ἵνα τέως ὁ σῖτος ἀφαιρεθῇ παρὰ Ἀθανασίου, καὶ δοθῇ τοῖς τὰ Ἀρείου φρονοῦσι; cf. *ib.*, 54, 63, *Apol. de fuga*, 6, *Epist. encycl.* ap. Migne, xxvi, 1338 A. This bread supply in each city was no doubt under the ultimate control of the Bishop; but Athanasius may well have ignored the Meletian clergy. They had perhaps a special supply, managed by one of themselves; and when the seven Bishops were banished, they left the bread in the hands of 'the Bishop'. If this was Isaac he may have returned by this time to Letopolis and been unable to supply the Alexandrian Meletians; but we have seen (ll. 7, 25 nn.) that there is some evidence for supposing Heraiscus to have been a Meletian anti-pope. This passage gives the idea further support. To take him as τὸν ἐπίσκοπον suits the context excellently and removes all difficulty as to Callistus's request for bread. The sequence of thought is then: Heraiscus has been imprisoned till the 28th (Callistus was still unable to get at him; l. 25), and seven Bishops have been banished. *Therefore* help us with our bread supply; for they (the Bishops) left their supply in Heraiscus's hands (and it is therefore inaccessible to us)

Schwartz, *G. G.N.*, 1911, 482, foot-note, infers from the words of the Egyptian Synod (Athan., *Apol. ad Ar.*, 18: that the Arians were seeking *τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφελέσθαι τὸν σῖτον τῇ προφάσει τῆς διαβολῆς καὶ Ἀρειανοῖς παρασχεῖν*) that the enemies of Athanasius 'haben sich wahrscheinlich über Versuche des Athanasius beschwert ihnen als Arianern . . . die *annonae* zu entziehen.' The inference is perhaps more than the words can bear, but the present passage may give it some support. We know (*Apol. ad Ar.*, 18) that Athanasius was accused of selling for his own advantage (*πιπράσκων καὶ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀποφερόμενος*) corn given, under a bequest of Constantine, to the widows of Libya and Egypt; and it is also noteworthy that the accusation which, after the attack at the Synod of Tyre had broken down owing to his appeal to Constantine, led to his first banishment, was precisely that of threatening to hold up the Imperial corn fleet (*Apol. c. Ar.*, 87). It is a little surprising that Constantine, who had received ample proofs of the sharp practices of the Eusebian party, should have instantly credited this new accusation and banished Athanasius unheard (*loc. cit.*), if there had been no foundation for the charge.

51. For the prices of wheat at this period see A. Segrè, *Circolazione monetaria*, pp. 104–5. The certainly dated rates there given advance from 1 tal. 4,000 dr. in 314 to 24 tal. in 338 (the reference should be to P. Oxy. i, 85, col. iii = Lond. 760), with rates of 40 (misprinted '20') and 26 tal. from two undated Rainer papyri. The present rate was clearly regarded as high; but the value of the coinage was dropping very rapidly at this time, and a rise from 14 talents (and that a high price) to 24 between 335 and 338 is quite possible.

52. *Πραυοῦν*: probably the same name as the *Πραοῦς* (which Preisigke, *Namenbuch, s.v.*, equates with *Προοῦς*) of P. Oxy. vi, 996 (A.D. 584); cf. Oxy. xvi, 1896, 9 (A.D. 577); 1941, 2 (fifth cent.), and see too Crum, *Catal.*, no. 557, **πραγ**, and note there. The third letter could equally well be read *ε*, but the *α* of *χώρας* in l. 42 is very similar. Apparently Prauous was the head of a community of Meletian monks. He is *perhaps* identical with the *Πρωοῦς* of **1913**, 10, 20, but see note there. Several of the names which follow occur in the records of this period (e. g., Epiph., *Adv. Haer.*, lxviii, 5, mentions *Παφνούτιός τις μέγας ἀνὴρ ἀναχωρητής, καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸς ὁμολογητρίας τυγχάνων, παραψάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ποσῶς τῆς ὁμολογίας*, among the Meletians; see too l. 56, n., below), but identification on the score of such common names is hazardous, and there is no reason to suppose that any of these people were of any eminence. Those whose names are preceded by *ἄπα* may all be regarded as priests.

53. *Ὡρίωνα*: perhaps the writer of **1917** (see l. 18 there). Also mentioned in **1922**, 14.

54. *Παπνούτιν*: another person of the name occurs below in l. 61. So too there are two people so called in **1918**, 7, 8. The second in **1918** was from Antaeopolis; the first, there and here, may be the deacon of Paminpesla who occurs in **1913**, 10.

ἄπα Τρύφωνα: also in **1918**, 4; **1921**, 21.

55. *Γερόντιον*: also in **1918**, 4; very likely identical with the person deputed by Pageus in **1913**.

ἄπα Ἱέρακαν: also in **1916**, 3; **1918**, 5; **1921**, 22.

ἄπα Ἐλεῦν: the reading is probable, though the form does not seem to occur elsewhere. The **ϩιλε[ιη** of **1922**, 13 appears to be identical with the **ϩελειη**, mother of Hor, who occurs in **1920**, 6.

ἄπα Ἀρηοῦν: see Preisigke, *Namenbuch, s.v.* Ἀρηοῦς. The papyri quoted are both from the Fayum. Cf. too **1925**, 19, and note there.

56. *Κολλοῦθον*: perhaps the person who occurs among the subscribers (*προεστῶτες*) of **1913** (ll. 18, 19).

Φίνες: see **1919**, intr. A *Φινεές* was one of the Egyptian Bishops at Tyre who supported Athanasius (*Apol. c. Ar.*, 79), but he is not in the least likely to be the person here mentioned.

μὴ ἀμελήσῃς κτλ.: though this refers to the bread supply, and in spite of the *οὖν*, it does not seem to be a recurrence to the subject of ll. 48–52; l. 59 suggests that it was the provisioning of a community at Tamouro that Callistus was anxious about. Whether *τῆς ἀρτάβης* is to be taken literally, the allowance being a single artaba, or in a more general sense, referring (somewhat strangely) to an allowance of any amount, is not clear. *αὐτάς* in l. 59 should refer to an amount of more than one artaba; but perhaps *τῆς ἀρτάβης*, if it is to be taken literally, indicates an allowance of one artaba *per head*.

57. *Ψαῖν*: perhaps identical with the fisherman of **1919**, 30.

Τερότ: no doubt to be identified with the Coptic ⲧⲉⲣⲱⲧ, for which see Crum, *Catal.*, no. 1146, 5; Krall, 177, 2; 208, 2; Hall, *Copt. and Greek Texts*, p. 143, no. 16, 6 (ⲧⲉⲣⲱⲧ ⲡϣⲟⲟⲡⲥ); Amélineau, *Géogr. de l'Égypte*, pp. 494–6. Hall's ⲧⲉⲣⲱⲧ is the modern Derût esh-Sherîf (see Baedeker, *Egypt*, 7th ed., p. 218), near the district-capital Derût, close to the junction of the Bahr Yûsuf and the Ibrâhîmîyah Canal. It is the latter Derût which is perhaps to be identified with ⲧⲉⲣⲱⲧ alone. Our Τερότ may be either; there were other places of the name (Amélineau, *l. c.*), but one of the two mentioned seems the likeliest.

58. Τοῦαν: also in **1917**, 11; **1918**, 8. In the latter he is called ἄπα, which shows that he was a priest; in the second he appears as son of Ouenaphrius. For the name see PSI. v, 478, 2 (Oxyrhynchus); Oxy. xvi, 1911, 66; and cf. Τουᾶνις, SB. 5124, 39 (Tebtunis). The name was borne by an obscure martyr, whose very fragmentary Acts are to be found in Paris copte 129[16], f. 80. He is probably distinct from ϫⲓⲁⲡⲏ, for whom see *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, iv, 68, no. 9239 (Crum). Τουάνσις (SB. 5366; Cairo Masp. iii, 67288, ii, 2, 4) is no doubt a different name, but may be connected.

Ταμούρω: cf. *Stud. Pal.*, xx, 103, 4 (Ταμώρω) and v. ([Τα]μμώρω); 52, 5 (Τααμόρου); P. Hib., p. 8 (Τααμόρου). This village was in the Heracleopolite nome, and, as appears from Hib., p. 8, probably in the Coite toparchy.

59. ἡ: this does not seem likely to be a numeral (though a sense 'for it is 8 days since they received them' is conceivable), and is better taken as = αἱ.

Παῦλον: a priest of the name (ἀπὸ Τηέν(ε)ως) occurs in **1917**, 11, and ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος sends greetings to Paiêous in **1919**, 25.

60. Παμούτιν: probably also in **1916**, 5.

Τιτ̣ούην: the reading is very probable. The name is to be equated with the forms Τιθοῆς (and its variants), Τιτοῆς, Τιτόι, Τιτόις, Τιτοῦε, for which see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*.

Ὄρ: a ⲣⲱⲣ of Tôhe in **1920**, 6 is presumably different. This may conceivably be the Ὧρος father of Pageus and Gerontius in **1913**.

61. Τουμνακῶν: this seems likelier than τοῦ Μνακών. The first syllable may be the not uncommon ⲧⲟⲟⲩ (ⲧⲟⲩⲱ), but then μνακων is difficult, and more probably we should correct to Τμουνακών, a not unlikely *lapsus calami*. For this name Mr. Crum refers to Eg. Expl. Fund, Arch. Survey, xii, *Deir el-Gebrâwi*, ii, pl. xxix, 4 (Phoebammon of Tmou-nakôn); B. M. Coptic Room, stele 1481 (ⲧⲙⲟⲩⲡⲁⲕⲱⲙ); B. M. Add. MS. 14732, f. 118, Syriac life of Bishoi (Thamonikon; no indication of locality except that it was in Egypt; kindly verified by Mr. E. W. Brooks). An identification with the ⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲱⲙ of **1920**, 1 is unlikely. Deir el-Gebrâwi is near Manfalût, not, therefore, very far from the probable site of our Terôt; but as Phoebammon occurs in a list of saints it does not follow that Tmou-nakôn was in the same neighbourhood, though Mr. Crum writes that the list seems to him 'to point to Middle Egypt decidedly'. Stele 1481, a grave-inscription, cannot be localized; only one of the three men of Tmou-nakôm commemorated bears an uncommon name, viz. ⲕⲗⲟⲩⲍ, and this name is found in the nome of Heracleopolis (Krall, 47, 2), the Fayum (Crum, *Copt. MSS.*, 45, 14, ⲕⲗⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲣⲁ ⲙⲱⲥⲏⲥ), and the nome of Memphis (*Stud. Pal.*, x, 297, 11, Κλουτζ). Mr. Crum writes that it is the ancient form of Κολλοῦθος (its derivative) and is characteristic of Middle Egypt and the Fayum, whereas ⲕⲟⲗⲟⲩⲍ, ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲟⲩⲍ, &c., are the Sa'idic forms (see his note on no. 532 in *Monastery of Epiphanius*).

61. Παπνούτιν: see l. 54, n.

Λεονίδην: also in **1918**, 6.

63. Perhaps (as the lacuna is not very large) only one of the recipients was named. Between the two lacunae are traces of ink, probably only the usual filling (crosses or the like) of the blank space left for the string between the two parts of the address.

PAPYRUS **1915**.—*Circa* A.D. 330–340

Inv. No. 2544. 20·5 × 18·1 cm.

Acquired in 1923. Brown papyrus, light and dark by patches. Worm-eaten along the top edge and in some other places, and broken and worn about the middle and at the foot. Written in a medium-sized, clear, sloping cursive hand, along the fibres, in brown ink. In places, especially in the first few lines, the ink has run, apparently owing to the damp which has discoloured the papyrus. Probably folded from left to right and perhaps then from top to bottom.

The two following letters, though they have no historical reference, are specially interesting for the light they throw on social conditions. They illustrate, on the one hand, the life of the Christian (and particularly the Meletian) community, in which, whatever its faults, the sense of brotherhood was strong and the duty of mutual charity fully realized, and, on the other, the cruel economic position of the Egyptian middle-class. The letters are in the same hand, having both been written by a certain Heriêous, and both refer to the same matter. **1915**, which, owing to its fuller details, may have been written and is here placed first (see intr. to **1916**), was written by him individually to Paiêous alone (this is doubtful in l. 1 but is confirmed by l. 40). In **1916**, on the other hand, the only name preserved is Μωυσῆ[ς, but since the hand is that of **1915**, and Moses is nowhere mentioned in the latter, we must suppose Heriêous to have written both; and the plural ὑποδεέστεροι in **1916**, 7 points to the occurrence of his name in the lacuna in l. 6. Thus **1916** is a joint letter by Moses and Heriêous, and it is addressed not to Paiêous only but to the community generally, or at least to its leading members.

The subject of the two letters is the sufferings of a certain Pamonthius (the name, lost or perhaps not mentioned in **1916**, is given by **1915**, 6), a member of the Meletian sect, as is shown by the words ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν, who had been a wine-dealer but owing to the exactions of the ἄρχοντες (no doubt primarily the financial officials) had fallen into such money difficulties that he had been compelled to borrow a large sum of money. Unable to pay off the debt, even though he sold all his property, even to his wardrobe, he had seen his children seized by his creditors and had apparently (see **1916**, 42 f.) himself suffered arrest but had later been set free on bail. Heriêous and his friends, having subscribed all the money which they could themselves afford, now appeal to Paiêous and his companions to assist in raising a fund to pay off the debt and so ransom the children.

The letters thus illustrate vividly the terrible burden under which the mass of the people laboured. The wide-spread, though illegal, practice of pledging children as security for debt (see P. M. Meyer, *Jurist. Papyri*, p. 29; A. Steinwenter, *Z. d. Sav.-St.*, xlii, *Kan. Abt.*, 189, and the literature there referred to) was the obvious means by which, in a slave-owning society, the oppressed classes

sought to relieve their position. P. Cairo Masp. i, 67023 (= *Jur. Pap.* 12) furnishes a good illustration of the practice; and cf. too P. Iand. 62; Oxy. x, 1295, 11–13; and, for an early instance (3rd cent. B.C.), PSI. iv, 424, 11–14. On the economic misery of the time and the burdensome nature of the taxes and liturgies see Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 354 f. (cf. however **1708**, 29, n.); G. Rouillard, *L'adm. civ. de l'Égypte byzantine*, p. 169, &c.; Bell, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, iv, 103. In the present case there is no evidence that the debtor had pledged his children as security for his debt, but this is a likely, though not necessary, inference.

If **1915** and **1916** be compared it will be seen that they show great similarity in style, the same phrases occurring in both. Heriêous was apparently given to repeating himself; a noticeable feature of both letters is his penchant for postscripts.

ἀδελ]φ̣[ῷ]
Π[*αιηοῦτι Ἐριηοῦς ἐν*] *κ*(*υρί*)*ῳ χαίρειν.*
Τ̣οἰ[*ς ἐν . . . .*]*ηφθονει ̣συμφορᾷ παραπεσοῦσιν*
βοη[*θεῖ*]*ν π*[*α*]*ρ*[*α*]*γγέλ*⟨*λ*⟩*εται ἡμῖν ὁ θεῖος λόγος πᾶσι, μάλιστα*
τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἡμῶν. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν
Παμώνθεις περιστάσεσι τῆς {*σ*}*τυχούσαις παρα-*
πεσὼν ἔσχιστα πέπονθεν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀνε-
λεημόνων καὶ ἀθέων ὥσ[*τ*]*ε̣ ὡς ἔπως εἰπεῖν ἀναγ-*
κασθῆναι τῆς μακαρίας ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν ἀποστερη-
θῆναι, ὅθεν ἐδέησεν ἡμᾶς ἐπιθεῖνε δι' αὐτὰ
ταῦτ̣α̣ τὰ γράμματα πρὸ̣ς̣ τ̣ὴν ἀδελφώτητα
ὑμῶν, δηλώσας τὴν τούτου πᾶσιν πρᾶξιν,
ἵν⟨*α*⟩ *καὶ ὑμῖς γνόντες συμβάλλεσθε αὐτῷ μεμνη-*
μένοι [*το*]*ῦ μακαρίου ἀποστό*[*λ*]*ου λέγοντες τοὺς*
ἀσθενοῦντα̣ς μὴ παρορᾶν [*ο*]*ὐ μόνον* [*ἐ*]*ν τῇ πίστι*
ἀλλὰ κ̣α[*ὶ*] [*ἐ*]*ν ταῖς κο*⟨*σ*⟩*μικαῖς π*[*ρ*]*άξεσι. Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ἀδελφὸς*
ἡμῶν ἔτυχέν ποτε οἰνοπράτης καὶ ἐπὶ πόλ{*λ*}*υ*
ἐνοχληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πατρίδι ἀρχώντω(*ν*)
[[*παρα*]] *παρὰ τὴν δύναμιν αὐ*[*το*]*ῦ εἰσπράτ*⟨*τ*⟩*εσθαι καὶ ἐκ*
τούτου ὄγκον ἀργυρίου δαν[*ει*]*σάμενος καὶ ταῦτα*
ἀπετηθεὶς καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἀπαντᾶν πρὸς τὰ
χρεωστούμενα ἠναγκάσθη ὑπὸ τῶν δανιστῶ(*ν*)
πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἄχρι καὶ τῶν ἱματίων τῶν
τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην αὐτοῦ περισκεπασμένων
πολῆσαι· καὶ τούτων πραθέντων μόγις τὴν ἡμίσιαν
τῶν ἀργυρίων τεδύνηται περινοῆσαι τοῖς δανισταῖς,
οἵτινες οἱ ἀνελεήμονες ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἄθεοι ἀπέσπα-
σαν τὰ πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τέκνα νήπια κομιδῇ.

Ὅθεν ἐπιτίνωμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ταυτηνὶ τὴν ἐπιστο-
λήν, ἀξιοῦντες ὑμ[ᾶς σ]υμβαλέσθαι αὐτῷ εἰς ὃ ἐὰ[ν]
δύνασθε [δοῦν]ε ἵν[α] παρ' αὐτῶ[ν αὐ]τὰ [ἀπολάβῃ]
. . . . . .

From top to bottom of the left margin :

]εσθαι υἱοὶ τοῦ οὐρανίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν.

Verso :

] ἡ ἐμὴ α̣τ . ν̣ . . . . . π̣ . . . . . ρ̣ο̣υχε . ρ̣α̣ν̣ σ̣ο̣υ
] . ω̣ν̣ πάνυ αὐτῷ βοήθησον ἐπιδὴ μάλ̣ι̣στα
] . νβη ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὅτι ἥρπασαν τὰ τέκν̣[α]
[αὐτοῦ εἰ]ς̣ δου[λ]ίαν. Μὴ οὖ̣ν̣ ἀμ[έ]λ̣ησ̣[ο]ν̣ τ̣ὸ
] . κ̣α̣ὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ.

Lower down :

ερ̣ο̣. XXX πογαϱ πεπτωογ
π̣ογα̣ϱ̣ πεπτωογ

Addressed (the reverse way up) :

Ἀπόδ(ος) Παιηοῦτι πρεσβ(υτέρῳ) XXX π(αρὰ) Ἐριηοῦς ἀδελφός.

2. κ̄ω̄. 5, end. ημω̄ν̄ (the line for ν, which however seems to be written, but perhaps the writer merely made a minim too many). 6. l. Παμώνθις (= -θιος), ⟨οὐ⟩ ταῖς τυχούσαις. 7. l. αἴσχιστα. 8. l. ἔπος. αναγ'κασθηναι. 9. ι of μακαριας corr. from α. 10. l. ἐπιθεῖναι. 11. Second τ of ταυτα corr. from θ (τ written above and θ not deleted). l. ἀδελφότητα. 12. υ of υμων corr. from η. l. δηλώσαντας, πᾶσαν. 13. ἵν. l. ὑμεῖς γνόντες. 14. ἀποστό-[λ]ῳ̣ν̣ : Gilson. l. λέγοντος. 15. l. πίστει. 16. First ο of ουτος corr., and a letter (ι?) was written, and has presumably been deleted, after the second ο. 18. αρχωντω̄ ; l. ἀρχόντων. 20. ογ'κον. 21. l. ἀπαιτηθείς. 22. ἠναγκάσθη : apparently the scribe first wrote ν' (for ν'κ) and then wrote the κ over the last stroke of ν and the apostrophe, thus correcting to γ. δανιστω̄ ; l. δανειστῶν. 23. ἱματιων. 24. αυτ of αυτου corr. from πο(?). 25. l. πωλῆσαι, ἡμίσειαν. 26. l. δεδύνηται περιποιῆσαι, δανεισταῖς. 28. τ of first τα corr. from α. There has probably been a correction in παντα (see note). 29. l. ἐπιτείνομεν. 31. l. δοῦναι. 32. νῖοι. 34. l. ἐπειδή. 36. l. δουλείαν. 40. παϊηουτι. l. Ἐριηοῦτος ἀδελφοῦ.

'[To the . . .] brother (?) Paiêous, Heriêous greeting in the Lord. To those who have fallen into . . . misfortune the word of God exhorts us to give succour ; to all, and most to our brethren. Since therefore our brother Pamonthius, having fallen into no common vicissitudes, has suffered most shamefully at the hands of pitiless and godless men so that he is compelled, one might almost say, to lose our blessed hope, for which reason he besought us to make application by these present letters to your brotherliness, setting forth all his affairs, to the end that you too, knowing thereof, may help him, remembering the command of the blessed Apostle not to neglect those who are weak, not only in the Faith but even in the affairs of this world. For this brother of ours was formerly a wine-

dealer, and being long importuned by the magistrates of his native place with exactions beyond his means, and having for this reason borrowed a great sum of money, and being asked for this and not being able to meet his liabilities, he was compelled by his creditors to sell all that he had, even to the garments that cover his shame; and when these were sold, scarcely could he get together the half of the money for his creditors, who, those pitiless and godless men, carried off all his children, being yet quite in their infancy. Wherefore we direct to you this letter, requesting you to help him to the extent of your power, that he may recover them from them. P.S. [So will you be?] sons of our Heavenly Father. P.P.S. . . . by all means help him, since . . . our brother, because they carried off his children into slavery. Therefore do not neglect the [matter?, speedily?] by all means.' (Addressed) 'Deliver to Paiêous, priest, from brother Heriêous.'

1. Something like *τῷ ἀγαπητῷ καὶ* (e. g.) *τιμιωτάτῳ* is to be read before *ἀδελ*]*φ*[*ῷ*], which is inferred only from a downstroke, probably the tail of the *φ*.

3. The reading *ηφθ* after the lacuna might almost be taken as certain but for the impossibility of finding a word ending in *ηφθονης* or *ηφθων*. The word is clearly an adjective going with *συμφορᾷ*. The remains suggest *επ*]*ηφθονει*, i. e. *ἐπιφθόνῃ* for *ἐπιφθόνῳ*, and this suits the space, for we could read *τοῖ*[*ς μὲν ἐν ἐπ*]*ηφθόνει*, but this involves supposing that the writer used *ἐπίφθονος* in an unusual sense. Probably the reference is not to any single text of Scripture but a general recollection of New Testament teaching. Passages like Gal. vi, 10; I Tim. v, 8 were probably in the writer's mind when he added *μάλιστα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἡμῶν*.

9. *τῆς μακαρίας ἐλπίδος*: cf. Tit. ii, 13.

10. *ὅθεν*: the word is superfluous and leaves the sentence beginning with *ἐπειδή*, l. 5, without a principal verb.

14–16. Not a verbal quotation of any single text but a reminiscence of such passages as Rom. xiv, 1 (*τὸν δὲ ἀσθενοῦντα τῇ πίστει προσλαμβάνεσθε*); Acts xx, 35; Ja. v. 14; I Thess. v, 14.

27. *οἵτινες*: the two ends of the *ς* are brought so close together that the letter looks like *ο*.

28. *πάντα*: if this is right the preceding *τά* is superfluous. The *ντ* are not very clear but probable; *παιδία* is less likely. There has perhaps been a correction.

32. The letter preceding *εσθαι* was probably *σ* or *λ*, as the ligature comes downwards from the top. Hence we cannot read *γίνεσθαι* or *νομίζεσθαι*. Probably *οὕτως ἔσ*]*εσθαι* (l. *-ε*), or *γενήσ*]*εσθαι* or *κληθήσ*]*εσθαι*. As the space cannot be great the first seems best.

35.]. *νβη*: difficult. The *ν* is all but certain, though *αι* (= *ε*) is just possible. *συ*]*ναίβη* however does not suit the traces at the beginning. The sense required is 'since our brother is in great distress'.

36. For [*αὐτοῦ εἰ*]*ς* see **1916**, 17. Line 35 may require a longer supplement, but to judge by the recto, where l. 1, in which a trace of *φ* remains, must have been the first line of the letter, there cannot be room for a great deal; and cf. l. 37, n. The reading after *μή* is exceedingly uncertain and is got rather from *a priori* probability than from the actual characters, none of which except the *ν* of *ἀμέλησον* can be regarded with great confidence, though *οὖν* suits the traces well.

37. Perhaps [*πρᾶγμα ταχ*]*ύ*? In that case, if the reading in l. 36 is correct, *ταχὺ καὶ πάντι τρόπῳ* is loosely used, as if the sentence had a positive form (*βοήθησον* or some similar verb).

38–9. This is very puzzling. The word before the crosses (which mark, as usual, the point where the string passed round the folded letter) is obscure but is presumably Coptic. ⲡⲟⲩⲁϩ ⲛⲉⲡⲧⲱⲟⲩ (the division of the words is doubtful) has, according to Mr. Crum, the appearance of a place-name, and ⲛⲉⲡⲧⲱⲟⲩ *may* be a curious genitive form ('of the mount'; cf. P. Cairo Masp. i, 67022 r., 9, v., 4, Μουνπτοου). But the purpose of the entry is not

clear. The address is given below, the reverse way up; moreover it is strange that l. 38 occupies only part of the available space (the papyrus is rubbed before ερ̣., but there is no clear evidence of any writing having preceded; some apparent traces are more probably stains than ink), and that the words are repeated in l. 39. Mr. Crum therefore suggests that ll. 38–9 are mere scribbles or pen-trials; but against this are the facts (1) that the crosses are inserted as if for an address, and just above the crosses in l. 40, (2) that the hand is probably identical with that of l. 40. Both Coptic and Greek are in a larger, more formal hand than the letter itself, as is usual in addresses, but in their formation the characters resemble those of Heriêous, and there seems no reason to doubt that he wrote the whole. Perhaps the Coptic was an after-thought; Heriêous addressed the letter in the usual way and then added the (temporary?) address of Apa Paiêous for the messenger's guidance. It should be added that in neither l. 38 nor in l. 40 are the crosses made as here printed. In l. 40 three parallel lines are drawn from left to right downwards and three others at right angles across them. In l. 38 a similar scheme was probably adopted, and the whole was apparently enclosed in a rough circle. In l. 39 the over-written ϱ is misplaced, between ϒ and ⲁ, but was no doubt intended to go between ⲁ and ⲡ.

Papyrus 1916.—*Circa* A.D. 330–340.

Inv. No. 2545. 23 × 19·5 cm.

Acquired in 1923. Light brown papyrus, discoloured in places by damp. Considerably damaged, especially at the foot and in the middle, and imperfect in the right top corner. Written in the same hand as **1915**, and in ink of the same colour, across the fibres. On the verso the discolouring of the papyrus and running of the ink make portions very difficult to read.

As explained in the introduction to **1915** this letter refers to the same subject as that. It is apparently a joint letter from Moses and Heriêous, written by the latter, and addressed to the Meletian community generally; but Heriêous sometimes forgets that he is not writing in his own name only and drops into the first person singular, just as, in his final greeting, he apparently addresses Paiêous alone. On the verso he has added a postscript in his own name addressed to the latter individually.

As **1915** gives fuller details than **1916** it is natural to suppose that it was written first and that **1916** was intended partly to reinforce it and partly as a circular letter to be passed round the community. Hence the order here adopted. It is, however, to be noted that **1916** has no address on the verso, and l. 10 suggests (see note there) that Pamonthius was the bearer of it. If so, he would doubtless supply the details himself, and the inference from the greater fullness of **1915** is unnecessary. It is likely enough that both letters were written and delivered together.

Τοῖς παν[? αγίο]ις̣ ἀγαπητ̣οῖς [καὶ γλυ-]
κυτάτοις [Παι]ηοῦτι πρεσβ[υτέρῳ καὶ]
Διόσκορο[ς καὶ] Ἱέρακ̣ς καὶ [
καὶ ἅπα Σ̣[ου]ρ̣οῦ καὶ πᾶσ̣[ι τοῖς ἀδελ-]

φοῖς καὶ πᾶσι τ[οῖ]ς περὶ [ὑμᾶς]
κατ' ὄν[ο]μα Μωυσῆ[ς καὶ Ἐριηοῦς?]
[οἱ] ὑποδεέστεροι ὑμῶν ἐν [κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν.]
Πρῶτον μὲν τὴν προσ[κύνησιν ὑμῶν]
ποιούμενοι, ἀγαπητοὶ πάτρ[ωνες, ἀγγέλλειν?]
θέλωμεν περὶ τούτου του ἀγ[απητοῦ Παμωνθίου?]
ὅτι ἐν μεγάλῃ ἀνάγκῃ ἐσ[τὶ καὶ αἴσχιστα πέπον-]
θεν ὑπό τινων ἀνθρώπ[ων ἀνελεημόν-]
ων καὶ ἀθέων, ἵνα καὶ ὑμῖ[ς σπουδάσητε?]
αὐτῷ . . . . νκ . [.] . χρ[. . .] . . . . κ̣αὶ τῆς
[ὑ]περβολῆς ὑμῶν ἀ[γά]πην τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ
κατοικεῖν. Ἀναγκ[αί]ως οὖν πάνυ σπουδάσατε
αὐτῷ ἀόκνως, ὅτι τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ εἰς δουλίαν
ἥρπασαν οἱ δανισταί· εἰ δὲ ἔχετέ μοι ὡς ἀδελ-
φὸν τοῦτον συμβοηθήσατε, ἀγαπητοί,
ὅτι πάνυ σφοδρῶς ⟨ἔ⟩θλιβε ἡμᾶς οὕτως περὶ
ταύτης ⟨τῆς⟩ ἀνάγκης, καὶ ἡμῖς οὐκ ὀκνήσω-
μεν. Εἴ τι καὶ εὑρήκαμεν παρεδώκαμεν αὐτῷ,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν ἐποιήσα-
μεν. Εἴ τι ἐὰν δυνήσατε συνλέξατε ἀργύρια
μέτρησον αὐτά, καὶ γράψατέ μοι περὶ ὧν δε-
δώκατε, ἵνα τὸ ἀσφαλὲς μεθῶμεν, ἵνα καὶ
πισθῶμεν, ἐπιδὴ τὰ πολλὰ πλεῖστα ἀργύρια
χρεωστῖ. Ὅρα μὴ ἀμελήσατε, ἀγ[α]πητοί, ἐπι-
δὴ παραπεσοῦσιν ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοιαύ[τη]ν ἀνάγκη(ν).
Ἐ[ρρῶσ]θαί σαι εὔχ[ομαι . . .] . . . . . .

From top to bottom of the left margin:

Ἐνδίξασθε οὖν τὴν ἔμφυτον ὑμῶν ἀγάπην καὶ εὐσπ⟨λ⟩αγχνία[ν]
καὶ τὴν στοργὴν τῆς ὑμῶν πατριότητος.

Verso:

Γράφω σε οὖν, ἄδελφε Παιηοῦ[ς
ταύτην τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἵνα [παν-]
τὶ τρόπῳ καὶ κατάστησον [
αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἵνα [
δοῦσιν· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι πόλ{λ}υ ψ . [
καὶ ἀπόστελλε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς [
ἀσφαλῆ· ἔγραψα ὑμῖν. Εἴ τι ἐ[ὰν δυνήσατε συνλέξαι?]
παρὰ τοῖς γιτόνοις ἀδελφοῖς [.] . ρ . . α . [. . . . ? ἀσφ]α-

λὴν καὶ σφράγιζον αὐτὴν [.] . ν̣ο̣σ̣ . λ̣ . . . . [.] . αὐτοῦ
ἐγγύην αὐτὸν ἔλαβα παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πε̣ντακοσίων
ταλάντων κεφάλεον καὶ τόκον, ⸗ ὡ.

3. l. Διοσκόρῳ, Ἱέρακι. 5. πᾶσι τ[οὶ]ς π̣ερὶ [ὑμᾶς]: Hunt. 8. ω of πρωτον corr. from ο. 10. l. θέλομεν. 11. αναγ'κη. 13. ἵνα; so ll. 26 (ὁἱς), 34, 36. l. ὑμεῖς. 16. αναγ'κ[αι]ως. 17. l. δουλείαν. 18. l. δανεισταί. 19. ν of συνβοηθησατε corr. from β. 21. αναγ'κης. l. ἡμεῖς, ὀκνήσομεν. 25. l. μετρήσατε. 26. l. μάθωμεν (Hunt). 27. l. πεισθῶμεν, ἐπειδή (so l. 28 f.) 28. l. χρεωστεῖ, ὁρᾶτε. 29. l. παραπεσεῖται, τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ (MS. αναγ'κῃ). 30. l. σε. 31. l. ἐνδείξασθε. ευσπαγ'χνια[ν]. 33. l. σοι. παϊηου[ς. 34. αναγ'κην. παν]τί: Hunt. 37. l. δῶσιν (?). α of γάρ corr. or rewritten. 39. l. ἀσφαλήν (?). 42. εγ'γυην, πεντακοσιῶ. 43. l. κεφάλαιον.

'To the all-holy, beloved, and most sweet Paiêous, priest, and Dioscorus and Hierax and . . . and Apa Sourous and all the brethren and all them that are with you by name, Moses [and Heriêous ?] the most humble among you, greeting in the Lord. First making obeisance to you, beloved patrons, we desire to [inform] you concerning this be[loved Pamonthius], that he is in great straits and has suffered most shamefully at the hands of certain pitiless and godless men, that you too [may succour] him . . . from your superfluity to dwell in (?) the love which is in heaven. By all means then succour him without hesitation, because his creditors have carried off his children into slavery; and if you hold me this man as brother, join in giving help, beloved, because these straits have afflicted us exceedingly, and we ourselves will not shrink (from helping him). Whatever we could find we have given him; yea, we have done even beyond our means. Whatsoever you can collect in money pay it over, and write to me of what you have given, that we may know for certain, that we may have assurance, since he owes much, very much money. See that you do not neglect, beloved, since our brother will fall into so great straits. I pray for your health . . . P.S. Show then the love and compassion that are native to you and the affection of your fatherliness. P.P.S. I write to you then, brother Paiêous, [to inform you of?] these straits, to the end that [you may] by all means [help him?] and appoint . . . for him among the brethren, to the end that they may give . . .; for I know that they . . . much . . . And dispatch to the brethren . . . I have written to you. Whatsoever [you can collect?] among the neighbouring brethren secure and place it under seal. I have taken him on bail from the soldiers for five hundred talents capital and interest 800 talents.'

1. παν[ἁγίο]ις: there is hardly room for πανευφήμοις. Πανάγιος or the superlative of it, when not applied to the divine Persons or attributes or to the Virgin, was a title of bishops (see Sophocles, *s. v.*), but it is quite possible that in a complimentary letter like this it might be used of mere priests. παν[αρίστο]ις (cf., e. g., **1677**, 41) could perhaps be got in but is not very likely.

4. The reading πᾶσ[ι is not certain, as there may be a character between α and the supposed σ, but probably the appearance of a letter is due merely to the running of the ink from the α.

7. [οἱ] ὑποδεέστεροι: if the supplements adopted are right this must be used in a deprecatory sense, practically as a superlative. There is no reason to correct ὑμῶν to ἡμῶν if we

suppose that the writers regard themselves as belonging to the community presided over by Paiêous.

9. *πάτρ[ωνες*: cf. P. Lond. iii, 982 (p. 242) = Ghedini, 27, 1, 10; Ghedini, 25, 10.

10. *Παμωνθίου*: the supplement is rather long (but cf. the practically certain supplement of l. 11), and possibly one should read rather *ἀδελφοῦ*. The *τούτου* seems to imply that Pamonthius himself carried the letter (note that it bears no address), and if so it was not necessary to name him, particularly as Heriêous had previously (if, as is natural, we place **1915** first) written on his behalf.

12. There is a considerable blank space between the *θ* and *ε* of *θεν*, due apparently to a prominent displaced fibre.

13. *σπουδάσητε*: cf. l. 16.

14. The supposed *κ* might be *υ*, perhaps followed by *μ*, and *χρ* suggests *χρημάτων*, but it does not seem possible to read *αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν ὑμῶν χρημάτων καὶ κτλ.* (with, e.g., *θέλητε, δόντες*] in l. 13; Hunt).

18. *μοι*: probably an ethical dative, *τοῦτον* being the object of *ἔχετε*, not (= *τούτῳ*) of *συνβοηθήσατε*.

21 f. *ὀκνήσωμεν. Εἴ τι κτλ.*: it seems better to punctuate like this, understanding *βοηθεῖν* or *σπουδάζειν αὐτῷ* after *ὀκνήσ⟨ο⟩μεν*, than to omit the stop and take the construction as confused, the writer beginning to write 'we shall not hesitate to give him whatever we can afford' and then changing to the past tense.

24. *δυνήσατε*: for the tendency in late Greek to confuse deponent and active forms (which makes itself felt in both directions) see Jannaris, § 1000. *δύναμαι* however, a common verb in Byzantine papyri, seems immune from the tendency in extant texts, and the present form may be a mere slip of the pen.

συνλέξατε: not corrected in the critical notes to *συλλέξαι* because such paratactical uses are characteristic of the style of the Byzantine age, and there is therefore no need to regard *συνλέξατε* as a slip of the pen; cf. P. Oxy. vii, 1071, 4: *τὸ τί ὀφίλουσιν ποιήσουσιν*; 8: *καταξίωσον οὖν γράψον*; xvi, 1871, 5: *καταξιόσῃ μάθε*; 6: *μῃ[δ]ὲν οὖν ἀμελήσις τοῦτο φρόντισον*.

25. *μέτρησον*: strictly inappropriate, as the word is properly used of payments in kind.

26–7. The interpretation adopted is due to Prof. Hunt. To leave *μέθωμεν* (it is hardly possible to read *μάθωμεν*) uncorrected and render 'that we may surrender the bond' raises great difficulties, as the creditors only can have held a bond. The sense no doubt is that a written statement in Paiêous's own hand would be more trustworthy than an oral message.

27. *τὰ πολλὰ πλεῖστα*: curiously worded. Perhaps *τά* is superfluous and *πλεῖστα* inserted merely to strengthen and reinforce *πολλά*, 'much, yes, very much'.

29. *παραπεσοῦσιν*: though future in form, it may be suspected that this verb should really have been perfect. But a future sense is not impossible, as the writer may have been thinking of the further consequences of failure to pay; cf. l. 42 f.

30. In rather fainter ink than the preceding lines (except ll. 1–5), but this is probably due to damp or the ink having run before it was dry; the hand seems to be the same. The reading of the dotted letters is extremely doubtful, but *σε* is more likely than *ὑμᾶς*. After the lacuna it is hardly possible to recognize with any confidence part of *ἄδελφε* or *ἀδελφοί*. But one or other is expected and may have been written. The traces do not support *πολλοὺς χρόνους*.

33. About half of ll. 33–9 is lost, so that *ἀγγέλλων σοι* is insufficient; but the sense is no doubt similar.

35. There is a small blank space after *κατάστησον*; so too after *ἵνα* in l. 36. Prof. Hunt suggests (e.g.) [*βοηθήσῃς αὐτῷ παν*]*τί*.

36. Something like [*καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς αὐτῶν*] or [*καὶ αὐτοὶ εἴ τι ἐὰν δύνωνται αὐτῷ*] probably expresses the sense. *τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἀπο-*], referring *δοῦσιν* to the creditors, is less likely.

38. *ἀπόσ̣τ̣ε̣λλε*: very doubtful, owing to the fading and running of the ink, which confuses the characters, but it gives the required sense and suits the traces better than any of the other words (*ἀπόδοτε, ἀποστείλατε, ἀποπέμψατε*, &c.) which have suggested themselves. For the mixture of single and plural cf. l. 25.

39. *δυνήσατε*: cf. l. 24, n.

40. *γιτόνοις*: for the confusion of 2nd (or 1st) with 3rd declension forms see Jannaris, § 346. The traces in the second half of the line are too small and indistinct for reading, though they might perhaps serve to test a conjecture. The sense would seem to be that Paiêous is to pack securely and send under seal the amounts collected.

41. *σφράγιζον*: for the retention of the *ζ* in the aorist see, e.g., **1676**, 57, n., and the instances collected in the index to vol. v (p. 289). After this it is hardly possible to read *καὶ ἀπόστιλον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ*, though *στιλ* can be reconciled with the smeared and indistinct traces.

43. *ϝ ϙ*: the symbol (which is made not quite as in the text, the side stroke being joined to the other) is that for talents, and we must therefore suppose (since *ϕ* = 500 is impossible) that the sum of 800 talents is either the total of capital and interest or the latter alone. The second is the more natural interpretation of the wording but would indicate a most usurious rate of interest. Pamonthius, however, had clearly borrowed under great difficulties and therefore possibly enough at a high rate, and we do not know how long the interest had been accumulating. Moreover it would appear from **1915**, 25 f. that he had paid off about half the original capital, so that 800 talents may be the interest on 1,000. (This assumes that the amount in the text is that of Pamonthius's debt, which is a not unreasonable assumption; the guarantors obtained his release on undertaking liability for his debt.) *ω*, though not absolutely certain, is very nearly so.

PAPYRUS **1917**.—*Circa* A.D. 330–340.

Inv. No. 2489. 25·5 × 46·7 cm.

Acquired in 1922 (left half) and 1923 (right half). Light brown papyrus, darkened in one or two places. Considerably damaged, especially at the foot and towards the right side, where a strip of papyrus is lost from l. 5 downwards. Written in a fairly large, sloping, irregular cursive hand, rather uncial in character, along the fibres, in black ink.

This letter, like **1915** and **1916**, is of rather unusual interest, but not so much for its subject-matter as for its spelling and extraordinary style. The confusion of *ε* and *αι* is of course common enough in papyri, but few writers at present known are so addicted to it as the writer of **1917**, and spellings like *μαιμαιλημαίνος* (*μεμελημένος*), *δαί* (*δέ*), *ἰδαίνε* (*εἰδέναι*) show to what a length his predilection for *αι* can go. Another striking feature of his letter is the wild confusion of cases and genders, which makes it difficult in places to determine the exact sense—if indeed the writer can be allowed to have had any exact sense in his mind at all, which his style renders a little doubtful. That style is of a verbosity and emptiness not common even in texts of the Byzantine period, complimentary epithets being accumulated one upon another and words and ideas repeated until it becomes hard to obtain any distinct impression from the medley. The writer characteristically omits even to give his own name in the greeting and has to slip it in by an afterthought towards the end of the letter.

A further point of interest is the treatment of the *nomina sacra*. The standard contractions of these, surmounted by a straight stroke, are already common in fourth-century texts, and several examples will be found in the present volume; but the writer of **1917** writes the *nomina sacra* in full and yet uses (not indeed always but frequently) the stroke—or rather, in most cases, two short strokes—above them. There are examples elsewhere (see, on this subject,

L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, p. 49 f.), but the practice of the present writer is exceptionally regular and consistent. As hinted by Traube, it is no doubt due to the fact that the contracted forms of the *nomina sacra*, though well established, were not yet completely understood by the less literate writers.

When we come to the actual subject, it is a little difficult to discover what the writer is informing his correspondent about. The greater part of the letter is occupied with requests for Paiêous's prayers, the prayers of the other brethren, and their intercession with yet others. The writer speaks of a παράπτωμα διαβολική (*sic*) which had occurred to him; but what the παράπτωμα was, is uncertain. It was perhaps that he stayed too long in the κηπολάχανον (l. 13), which is supported by πειρ]αζόμ⟨ε⟩νος if that reading be accepted; but in any case the mention of the διαθήκη in l. 9 ff. suggests that he was already in some disgrace, and that the agreement as to his being handed over (παραδώσηται, l. 12) to Sourous was in the nature of a punitive measure. It may indeed be that Paiêous already knew the circumstances of the writer's sin, and that the object of this letter was merely to ask for prayers.

In any case the letter gives a very interesting illustration of the practice of intercessory prayers. The writer asks that requests for prayers shall be circulated κατὰ μονήν, i. e. among the various cells of the Meletian anchorites, not only in the immediate neighbourhood but also in the 'upper regions', i. e. probably in the Thebaid. One is reminded of the mortuary and similar rolls of the Middle Ages.

There is no trace of an address on the verso, though there are a number of crosses, such as frequently mark the space left for the string. The address may have occurred on the strip which has disappeared from towards the right (recto) side of the papyrus, but there is nothing to support this.

1 Τῷ γνησιωτάτῳ καὶ φω[τ]ι̣νωτάτῳ μ[α]καριωτάτῳ ἀ[γαπητ]ῷ καὶ θεῷ
μαιμελημαίνῳ καὶ [π]α̣ι̣[π]ληρωμαίνος πνεύμα̣τος ἁγίου
2 καὶ τιμιώτατος παρὰ κυρίῳ θαιῷ ἅπα Παιηο̣ῦ, ἐ̣ν̣ δεσπό[του Ἰη]σοῦ
Χριστοῦ χαῖραι. Πρὸ μὲν πά̣[ν]των εὔχομαί σοι τὴν
3 ὁ̣λ̣ο̣κ̣λ̣ηρίαν παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θαιῷ. Ταῦτα τὰ γ[ρά]μματα ἡ[μῶν ἔγρα]ψα
ἐν τῷ χαρτίῳ τούτῳ ἵ̣ν̣' α̣ὐ̣τὰ ἀνάγνοις μαιτὰ χαρᾶς
4 καὶ μετὰ ἰρήνης βεβεωτάτης ἐκ̣ ἁγίου [π]νεύματ[ος καὶ μ]αιτὰ ἱλαρότητος
θεῷ μαιμελημαίνῳ καὶ [[π]] μαιτὰ φιλοξε-
5 [[ν]]νίας μακροθυμίας πεπληρωμαίνη πνεύμ[ατος ἁγίου. Σ̣ο]ὶ̣ οὖν γράφω,
γνησιώταται καὶ βε̣β̣[εό]ταται ἅπα Παιηοῦ
6 παρὰ κυρίου θεοῦ, ὅπως ἐφάρῃς τὰς χῖράς σ[ου | πρὸς τὸν δεσ]πότην
θαιὸν ὡς τοίπως σταυρῷ . [.] . [. . . .]ζια θεῷ μαιμαιλη-
7 μαίνη διὰ ἐμοῦ τῷ ταπινῷ καὶ ταλεπώρῳ, καὶ [οὐ κ]α̣τ̣α̣ξί[ῳ] τὸ φῶς τοῦ
ἰλίου ἰδαίνε, ὅπως ὁ θεὸς [ἀκυρόσῃ ?] τ̣ὸ χιρόγραφον τῶν
8 ἁμαρτιῶν μου διὰ τ[ῶ]ν̣ βεβεωτάτων ὑμῶ̣[ν πρ]οσευχῶν ἁγιωτάτων.
Γνῶναί σαι οὖν θαίλω, [γνησιώτ]αται καὶ μακαρι-
9 ώταται, ὅτι ὅτε ἦσμαιν ἐ̣ν̣ τῇ νήσῳ τῆς Μέμφ[εως] μαιτ[ὰ] τῶν ἁγιωτάτων
ἀδελφῶν καὶ ἐποί[ησαν πε]ρ̣ὶ̣ ἐμοῦ τὴν διαθήκην

10 *τὴν θεῷ μεμελη[μέν]ην καὶ σπουδαία⟨ν⟩ εὐ[λογ]ημαί[ν]η⟨ν⟩ πνεύμ[ατο]ς*
ἁγίου . ę . ϵ καὶ ἅπα Κ[. . . . .]ς καὶ ἅπα Ὡρσενού-
11 *φιος καὶ ἅπα Σουροῦς καὶ ἅπα Πεβὲ καὶ Παύλῳ [πρ]εσβυ[τ]αίρῳ τῷ ἀπὸ*
Τηέναιως καὶ Ἀντίνους [? καὶ . . . .]ος Τουᾶν υἱῷ Οὐεναφρ[ί]ου
12 *καὶ ἅπα Μικαλώνην, ἵνα παραδώσηταί μαι τοῦ [ἅ]πα Σουροῦς ἰς τὴν*
μονὴν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἔμι[να ? πειρ]αζόμαινος ἐν τῷ
13 *κηπολαχάνῳ, καὶ ἔ[μ]ινα ἐκῖ ἕως τοῦ Φαμαι[ν]ώθ, καὶ ὅ[[σ]]ται δαὶ ἐξέβην*
ἅπηλθα εἰς τὸ [. . . . .]ς, καὶ νῦν βέβηκαί με
14 *παράπτωμα διαβολική. Πᾶν οὖν ποίησον, ἀγαπηταὶ γνησιώταται καὶ*
ἀξιώταται παρὰ κυρίῳ [θεῷ, μετὰ σπ]ουδῆς φιλοξε-
15 *νίας πνεύματος ἁγίου θεῷ μαιμαιλημαίνῳ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμαίρας παρακαλέσῃς*
τὸν θεὸν τὸν κ[ύριον ? πάν]τ̣ων—τῶν ἐν υἱῷ
16 *ἐν πατρὶ καὶ ὁ ἐν πατρὶ ἐν υἱῷ—ἵνα ἀποδώσι με εἰς τὰς χῖρας ὑμῶν·*
ἀσθενῶς δαὶ . . [. . . . .]αιως ὁλοκαύτωμα
17 *πνεύματος ἁγίῳ. Οὐ μόνον δαὶ ταῦτα ἔγραψα ἔγραψα δαὶ καὶ τῷ ἅπα*
Ἄμμωνι καὶ τῷ ἅπ[α . . . . . κ]αὶ τῷ ἅπα Πεβὲ
18 *καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄνω μαίρη πρὸς Μικαλώνην διὰ ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ Ὡρίων, ἵνα*
ἐφάρωσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ἁγιω[τάτας αὐτῶν] χῖραν πρὸς τὸν [[θ̣ε̣ο̣ν̣]]
19 *θεὸν ἐν ὅλης καρδίας αὐτῶν ὡς τοίπως σταυρῷ καὶ μὴ ἀποστερήσ[[ι̣ω̣]]ωσί*
μαι καὶ μὴ ἐ[. . . . . ωσί] μαι, ἀλλὰ ᾧ ὁ θεὸς
20 *οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐλεήμων οὕτως καὶ ὑμῖς [οἰ]κτίρμων καὶ ἐλεήμονες γίγνεσθε*
διὰ [ἐμοῦ σπο]υδαζόμαινοι
21 *πρὸς τὸν θαιόν. Πᾶν οὖν ποίησον, ἀγαπηταί, εἵνα γράψῃς κατὰ μονὴν*
καὶ τῷ ἅπα Σου[ροῦς καὶ τῷ] ἅπα Πεβαί, ἵνα
22 *κ[α]ὶ αὐτοὶ ἐλεήμονες γενέσοντε περ[ὶ] ἐμοῦ καλέσωσιν πρὸς τὸν θαιὸν*
μαιτὰ σπ[ουδῆς πνε]ύματος ἁγίου
23 *θεῷ μεμελημαίνῳ ἵν' οὕτως καὶ αὐτοὶ [γράψωσι με]τ[ὰ σπου]δῆς ὅλη[ς]*
καρδίας διὰ [ἐμοῦ εἰς τὰ ἄν]ω μαίρη
24 *κατ{ααt}ὰ μονὴν ἐντελλωμαίνοι περὶ [ἐμοῦ εὔχεσθαι . . . . .] τὴν κ̣α̣[. .]δ̣ι̣ναν*
τω[. . . ? περὶ ἐ]μοῦ
25 *ὅτι ὁ θεὸς μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμ[ων γενήσεται ? . . . . .]υν κατ̣[. . .*
? μ]αιτὰ σ[πουδῆς ? circa 10 letters.]
26 *Ἀσπάζομα[ί] σ̣α̣ι̣, μακά[ριε] ἅπα Παι[ηοῦ, ... ? ἅπα Π]ε̣β̣ὲ̣ . . [—*
27 *καὶ τοὺς σὺν [σ]οὶ πάντ[ας ἀ]δελφοὺς [—*

1. l. φωτεινοτάτῳ, μεμελημένῳ, πεπληρωμένῳ. θ̅ε̅ω̅ (θ rewritten); so l. 4. 2. l. τιμιωτάτῳ, θεῷ (so l. 3, &c.), δεσπότῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ χαῖρε. παῖηοῦ (so ll. 5, 26), ι̅η̅σου̅. 3. Last stroke of ν in ολοκληριαν rewritten. θαιω/, ἰν. χ of χαρτιω corr. from κ, and ω rewritten. ω of τουτω smeared, and a letter deleted between it and ἰν. l. μετά; so ll. 4 (*bis*), 9, 22, 25. 4. ἴρηνης (l. εἰρήνης), ἴλαροτητος. l. βεβαιοτάτης ἐξ, μεμελημένος. ἁ̅γιου̅. 5. Last α of μακροθυμιας corr. from ο. l. πεπληρωμένος, γνησιώτατε, βεβαιότατε. πνε̅υ̅μ̅[α̅τος. 6. l. κυρίῳ θεῷ, ἐπάρῃς, χεῖρας (so l. 16), τύπος σταυροῦ (? : σ corr.; see note), μεμελημένος. θ̅α̅ι̅ω̅ν̅. 7. l. τοῦ ταπεινοῦ, ταλαιπώρου, ἡλίου (λ rewritten) εἰδέναι, ἀκυρώσῃ, χειρόγραφον. θ̅ε̅ο̅ς̅ (so ll. 19, 25). ς of φως corr. from ο. [οὐ κ]α̣τ̣αξί[φ]: Hunt; see note. 8. l. βεβαιοτάτων, σε, θέλω,

γνησιώτατε, μακαριώτατε. ῦμων. 9. l. *ἦμεν.* *ς* of *της* corr. or rewritten. *η* of *την* rewritten. 10. *θεῶ*, πνεῦμ[ατο]ς. l. *εὐλογημένην.* 11. l. *Παῦλος πρεσβύτερος ὁ, Τηένεως, Ἀντίνοος* (?), *υἱοῦ* (?). 12. *λ* of *μικαλωνην* (l. *Μεγαλώνυμος*) corr. from *π* (?). *ϊνα* (so ll. 16, 18, 21, 23), *ϊς.* l. *παραδώσητέ με τῷ ἅπα Σουροῦτι εἰς, ἔμεινα* (so l. 13) *σπουδαζόμενος.* 13. *εκἰ* (l. *ἐκεῖ*), *απηλ'θα.* *ς* of *εως* corr. from a straight stroke, perhaps part of an intended *τ.* l. *Φαμενώθ, ὅτε δέ, βέβηκέ μοι.* 14. l. *διαβολικόν, ἀγαπητέ γνησιώτατε, ἀξιώτατε.* *κῦρῑῶ.* 15. l. *μεμελημένος* (?—*λη* rewritten), *ἡμέρας, τῶν.* *θεῶν* (so l. 19), *ῦιω.* 16. l. *ϋιω, ῦμων.* l. *ἀποδώσει* (? : see note), *δέ* (so l. 17, *δἰς*). 17. l. *ἁγίου.* Between the first and second *μ* of *αμμωνι* a character (which looks like *ε*) has been written. It may be merely a confused apostrophe or perhaps a miswriting of the second *μ*, which was then rewritten separately. 18. l. *μέρη* (so l. 23), *Μεγαλώνυμον, ἐπάρωσιν, χεῖρας.* 19. l. *ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ* (*ρ* added later), *τύπος σταυροῦ* (*υ* rewritten), *με, δἰς.* *ς* of *ως* smudged but probably not corr. 20. *μ* of *ελεημων* rewritten. l. *ὑμεῖς* (MS. *ῦμις*), *οἰκτίρμονες, σπουδαζόμενοι.* Second *ε* of *γιγνεσθε* corr. from *αι.* 21. l. *θεόν* (so l. 22), *ἀγαπητέ, ἵνα, Σουροῦτι, Πεβέ.* *ν* of *μονην* corr. from *ς.* *ϊ* of *ϊνα* rewritten. 22. l. *γενήσονται.* *ς* of *προς* rewritten. 23. l. *μεμελημένοι* (?). 24. l. *ἐντελλόμενοι.* 25. *ς* of *μακροθυμος* rewritten. 26. l. *σε.* *μακά*[*ριε*] : Milne.

'To the most genuine and most enlightened, most blessed, beloved and in God's keeping and filled with the Holy Ghost and most valued in the sight of the Lord God, Apa Paiêou, greeting in our Master Jesus Christ. Before all things I pray for prosperity for you with the Lord God. This our letter I wrote on this papyrus that you might read it with joy and with most secure peace from the Holy Ghost and with cheerfulness in God's keeping and with entertainment of long-suffering filled with the Holy Ghost. To you then I write, most genuine and most secure in the sight of the Lord God Apa Paiêou, that you may lift up your hands to our Master God, in the semblance of a cross, . . . in God's keeping for me the humble and wretched and unworthy to behold the light of the sun, that God may [annul] the bond of my sins by your most secure, most holy prayers. I desire you then to know, most genuine and most blessed one, that when we were in the Island of Memphis with the most holy brethren, they, . . . and Apa C . . . s and Apa Orsenuphius and Apa Sourous and Apa Pebe and Paul the priest of Têenis and Antinous [and ? . . .]us son of Touan the son of Ouenaphrius and Apa Megalonymus, made concerning me the covenant in God's keeping, excellent and blessed of the Holy Ghost, that you (?) shall hand me over to Apa Sourous, to his cell. And I abode, being tempted, in the vegetable garden, and I abode there till Phamenoth, and so soon as I went out I departed to the . . ., and now there has befallen me a diabolical transgression. By all means therefore, beloved, most genuine, and most worthy in the sight of the Lord God, with zealous entertainment of the Holy Ghost in God's keeping, by night and day entreat God the Lord of all—they that are in the Son being in the Father, and he that is in the Father is in the Son—that he may restore me into your hands; . . . burnt offering of the Holy Ghost. And not only did I write this, but I wrote also to Apa Ammon and Apa . . . and Apa Pebe and to the Upper Country to Megalonymus for myself, I Horion, that they may lift up their most holy hands to God with all their hearts, in the semblance of a cross, and may not cut me off and may not [cast me out ?], but to him to whom God is compassionate and merciful so do you too be compassionate and merciful, being zealous on my behalf to God. By all means then, beloved, write from cell to cell and to Apa Sourous and to Apa Pebe, that they also may be merciful for me

and may call upon God with zeal of the Holy Ghost in God's keeping, that so they too may write with zeal of their whole heart for me to the Upper Country from cell to cell, enjoining (all) to pray for me . . . for me, that God will be long-suffering and merciful . . . with zeal . . . I greet you, blessed Apa Paiêou . . . Apa Pebe . . . and all the brethren with you.'

1. φω[τ]ι̣ρωτάτῳ: the reading is not certain, and the word does not seem to be used elsewhere in a similar context, but it is strongly suggested by the certain letters, and ι̣ρ are quite possible readings.

θεῷ μαιμελημαίνῳ: a very favourite phrase of the writer's and often used in contexts where it is difficult to assign to it any very satisfactory meaning. The difficulty is increased in several cases by the shakiness of the writer's concords, which makes it uncertain to what word the phrase is to be attached. Here at least the meaning is not in doubt; it signifies that Paiêous is under the special care of God. 'In God's keeping' seems a reasonable rendering, and in order to represent in English the style of the original it is retained throughout the translation. For the phrase itself cf., e.g., Eusebius, *Vit. Const.*, iv, 41, ὅ γε τῷ θεῷ μεμελημένος.

2. χαῖραι: for the use of this form instead of χαίρειν see P. Oxy. xii, 1492 (= Ghedini 12), 1; PSI. iii, 208 (= Ghedini 13), 1; Oxy. ix, 1185, 13; Lond. iii, 899 (1, p. 208); &c.; and cf. Oxy. iii, 526, 1; Flor. ii, 140 verso, 1, where χαίροις is used. Now too see F. X. J. Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter* (Washington, D. C., 1923), pp. 33 f., 67 f. Usually, as in the instances quoted, the word, when used in the imperative, comes first; but cf. the Coptic letters **1920** and **1921** below.

εὔχομαί σοι κτλ.: cf. P. Oxy. xii, 1495 (= Ghedini 21), 3–5.

4. θεῷ μαιμελημαίνῳ: the grammatical relation of this is uncertain; it may be intended to go with ἱλαρότητος ('godly cheerfulness'), as πεπλ. πν. ἁγίου in l. 5 may be meant to go with μακροθυμίας, but on the whole it seems best to refer both to Paiêous. This is supported by the deleted π; the writer perhaps began to write πεπληρωμένος κτλ, here and decided to add μετὰ κτλ. first.

5. βεβ[εό]ταται: if the trace above the lacuna is rightly identified as β there is room for nothing more than εο. In ll. 4, 8 the form βεβεώτατος is used.

6. ὣς τοίπως σταυρῷ: the mysterious combination ωστοιπωσσταυρω recurs in l. 19, also in a passage asking for the raising of hands in prayer. The difficulty of interpretation is increased by uncertainties of reading, for in both cases the writer has muddled the phrase. Here the second σ is a correction. In l. 19, on the contrary, where the two sigmas are original and certain, the writer has become confused over σταυρω; he seems first to have written this and then to have rewritten the υ with a very long tail, so that it looks like ρ, which he may even have intended. The division and interpretation adopted (ὡς τύπος σταυροῦ, the lifting up of the hands suggesting to the writer the figure of the cross), which was suggested by Mr. Milne, is a little far-fetched, but it seems possible, and no other tolerable explanation offers itself. It perhaps receives some support from the passage in Athan., *De Incarn. Verbi*, 25: ἔπειτα, εἰ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου λύτρον ἐστὶ πάντων, καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τούτου τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύεται, καὶ γίνεται τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡ κλῆσις· πῶς ἂν ἡμᾶς προσεκαλέσατο, εἰ μὴ ἐσταύρωτο; ἐν μόνῳ γὰρ τῷ σταύρῳ ἐκτεταμέναις χερσί τις ἀποθνήσκει. Διὸ καὶ τοῦτο ἔπρεπεν ὑπομεῖναι τὸν κύριον καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτεῖναι, ἵνα τῇ μὲν τὸν παλαιὸν λαόν, τῇ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἑλκύσῃ, καὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἑαυτῷ συνάψῃ. What follows is quite obscure. Probably θεῷ μαιμαιλημαίνη is to be referred to Paiêous. Prof. Hunt suggests that the feminine forms, here and in l. 5, may be due to the use of polite periphrases for σύ, but the writer is so very erratic in his concords that the explanation is perhaps hardly required.

7. διά: used in the sense of ὑπέρ; cf. ll. 18, 20, 23. An uncertainty in the use of the prepositions was characteristic of later Greek, and led, in the modern language, to the disappearance of several (including ὑπέρ) and their replacement by others. Instances in papyri are: περί for ὑπέρ, below, l. 24; **1731**, 14; P. Oxy. x, 1298, 4 f.; xii, 1494, 6; διά for περί, Oxy. xvi, 1871, 5 f.; 1875, 11. In Oxy. 1871, 4 (πέμψομαί τινα . . .) διὰ τοὺς ἀνθρόπους καὶ τοὺς καμήλους, διά has the sense of 'for', i.e. 'to fetch'. For the use of διά (with the accusative) as = ὑπέρ see Jannaris, §§ 1521, 1534 (*c*). The present instance (with the genitive) is a half-way house to the later use.

[οὐ κ]ατα̣ξί[ῳ]: this (taking εἰδέναι as a confusion with ἰδεῖν) seems on the whole likelier than the editor's reading [κ]ατα̣ξί[ῶ], 'and I ask the light of the sun to know it'.

[ἀκυρώσῃ]: or, e. g., ἀφανίσῃ; but ἀκυρώσῃ (the ο is written for reasons of space) suits the metaphor of χειρόγραφον better.

9. τῇ νήσῳ τῆς Μέμφ[εως]: it is not clear what island at or near Memphis is intended.

πε]ρὶ ἐμοῦ τὴν διαθήκην: περί here seems to be used in its proper sense, not as = ὑπέρ. The διαθήκη is apparently a mutual agreement made among the brethren concerning the writer.

10. . ϛ . ε: the first letter may well be σ; so perhaps Σεῦε (O. Strassb. 645, 6). In any case the word seems likely to be a name. These names are apparently to be taken as subjects to ἐποί[ησαν, added by an afterthought: 'they made a covenant, (that is to say) Seue (?)', &c.

ἄπα Κ[. . . . .]ϛ: either Κ[ολλοῦθο]ϛ (**1914**, 56; **1913**, 18) or Κορνήλιος (**1914**, 55) would suit the space, but neither is called ἄπα. Κολοβός (**1918**, 9) is rather too short, and this person also is not called ἄπα. The word was not always inserted, but is generally (though not always; cf. l. 58, n.) used in **1914**; hence the person referred to here may be different from any of those who occur elsewhere in the correspondence. This is the more likely, since he was presumably a member of the Memphite community, not of that at Hathor.

11. Τηέναιως: just conceivably for Τήνεως in the Hermopolite nome (another Τῆνις in the Thinite nome, PSI. iii, 168, 26), but much more probably a hitherto unrecorded place-name.

Ἀντίνουϛ: it is natural to suppose that this is another personal name (the last letter may be either ϛ or ο), but if so we should expect before Τουᾶν the word καί, that following Ἀντίνους being a patronymic or epithet (πρεσβύτερ]ος?). Unless καί has been accidentally omitted, we must suppose καί to follow in the lacuna and οϛ to be the end of a name. In that case Τουᾶν is the father's name and Οὐεναφρίου the grandfather's (amending υἱῷ to υἱοῦ). This is unexpected in a letter but not impossible.

Τουᾶν: cf. **1914**. 58, n.

12. Μικαλώνην: perhaps used in this letter as an indeclinable word. The person referred to is almost certainly identical with the μγκαλωπγμος, μικαλωπγμος of **1921**, 24, 25. For the name Μεγαλώνυμος see BGU. 91, 1; P. Fay. 108, 1. A connexion with such names as Μίκαλος, Μικκάλη, Μικκαλίων, Μίκκαλος, Μικκάλων (see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*) is much less likely.

παραδώσηται: since there is no further mention of anything that Paiêous is to do except to pray for the writer and intercede with various brethren on his behalf, it is possible that this really refers to the parties to the διαθήκη, and the verb may even be a quotation from the (written or oral) agreement, one party addressing the other. If so, what follows has reference to the performance of the διαθήκη, the κηπολάχανον being in connexion with the μονή of Sourous. But the writer does not definitely say so, and if the probable πειρ]αζόμαινος is accepted it may well be that the writer's παράπτωμα was that instead of going to the μονή he remained in the κηπολάχανον. For the aorist form see l. 16, n.

πειρ]ιζόμαινος: suggested by Prof. Hunt and on the whole likelier than the editor's reading σπουδ]αζόμαινος which is used in a different sense in l. 20.

13. κηπολαχάνῳ: apparently a new word.

νῦν βέβηκαι: certainly not συνβέβηκαι, though that may be intended. But this writer seems quite capable of using βαίνω in the sense of συμβαίνω.

14. σπ]ουδῆϛ: almost certain, though the υ (made in the same way as the υ of σταυρω, l. 19) is a little doubtful; cf. l. 22. Whether the writer attached any definite meaning to this jumble of words may be gravely doubted.

15. θεῷ μαιμαιλημαίνῳ: the same doubt arises regarding the reference of this phrase as on some previous occasions.

τὸν κ[ύριον κτλ.: the probable]τῶν suggests this reconstruction, which involves the supposition that τον . . . υιω is a parenthesis, that τον stands for τῶν (*sc.* ὄντων after υἱῷ), and that the writer changes the construction in the second part of his antithesis. This is the less objectionable because it seems clear that the construction is confused.

16. ἀποδώσι: for the use of the future in place of the subjunctive see l. 22, γενέσοντε, and, e. g., P. Oxy. vii, 1071, 5, 6. But an aorist form ἔδωσα occurs (see P. Oxy. vii, 1066,

12; xvi, 1874, 14; l. 12 above, παραδώσηται; and the instances collected by Jannaris, § 996 (51)), and it may be that we should read ἀποδώσῃ.

δαὶ . . [. . . . .]αιως: the writer's extraordinary style makes conjecture hazardous. δαί is a very doubtful reading. After it ρτ[is possible.

18. ἐγὼ Ὡρίων: this seems to be a (strictly ungrammatical) interjection of the writer's name, which he perhaps remembered he had omitted in l. 2.

αὐτῶν]: the repetition is quite possible for this writer.

19. ὡς τοίπως σταυρῷ: cf. l. 6, n.

ἀποστερήσ[[ιῳ]]ωσί μαι: evidently used in the sense of 'deprive me of fellowship', 'cut me off'. After this καὶ μὴ ἐ[κρίπτωσί] μαι is possible.

22. γενέσοντε: cf. l. 16, n.

καλέσωσιν: cf. **1916**, 24, n. It is quite likely that the present is a parallel case to those quoted there, the sense being in effect 'may show their mercy by calling on God'.

μαιτὰ κτλ.: cf l. 14 f. and note.

24. περί: cf. l. 7, n.; Jannaris, § 1488.

26. ρα: the traces so read are on a piece of papyrus which had been detached and has conjecturally been inserted here. But the identification is very uncertain, and the traces are by no means clear.

27. ἀ]δελφούς: this was not the last word, for under the second ε of Πεβέ in l. 26 is the top of a single letter; but l. 27 was the last line, unless there was a short one under the lost second half of l. 26.

PAPYRUS **1918**.—*Circa* A. D. 330–340.

Inv. No. 2546. 22·8 × 13·7 cm.

Acquired in 1922. Light brown papyrus. Damaged in several places, particularly at the point where the papyrus was folded from top to bottom. Written in a medium-sized, rather irregular, sloping cursive hand, along the fibres, in black ink. Folded from right to left and then once from top to bottom.

There is little of special moment in this letter, which, apart from the lengthy greetings, is merely to announce the dispatch of provisions and to express the writer's intention of visiting Paiêous. But the letter illustrates how anchorites and monks obtained their supplies, and it has grammatical and orthographical points of interest. The evidence as to folding (ll. 21–2, n.) is also of value, since it confirms inferences drawn from creases in other papyri as to the frequent practice of folding letters in two directions before sealing them.

Τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ καὶ ἀγαπημένῳ πατρὶ ἅπα [Πα-]
ιηοῦς [[ο]] Χαρίσιος πλεῖστα χαίρειν. Πρὸ μὲ[ν]
πάντων ἀσπ[ά]ζομαί σοι πολλὰ ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ, ἀσπά[ζο]μαι
ἅπα Διόσκορο[ν] καὶ ἅπα Δρύφωνα καὶ ἅπα Κερ̣ρ̣ν-
δios καὶ ἅπα Ἱέραξ καὶ οἱ σὺν ὑμῖν ἀδελφοὶ
κατ' ὄνομα, ἀσπάζομαι Πετ̣νίριος καὶ Λεωνί-
δης καὶ Πετθυβέστιος καὶ Παπνούθης καὶ ἅπα
Τουᾶν καὶ ἅπα Πανᾶρε, ἀσπάζ[ο]μαι Παπνούθης
ὁ Ἀνταιοπολίτης καὶ Κολοβὸς καὶ οἱ ἀδελ-
φοὶ κατ' ὄνομα. Εἰδότες οὖν τὴν σπουδήν

σου, πάτερ ἅπα Παιηοῦς, περὶ πάντων ἀδελφῶν
μάλ{λ}ιστα ἐμέ, ἰδο[ὺ ἔπεμψά] σοι φοινίκια
ἀρτάβας δύο καὶ ἄλευρα φ[α]κοῦ ἀρτάβας
μιᾶς καὶ πρὸς καὶ σταφοίλια κνίδιον μίαν
καὶ κλοκελέας κνίδιον μίαν· καὶ εἴ τι
χρείαν ἔχεις πέμψον μοι καὶ μὴ ⟨ἀ⟩μ[ελησ]ᾳ
{α} περὶ τῶν εἶπέν σοι· καὶ ἐὰν θέλῃ ὁ θ(εὸ)ς [? τάχ]ᾳ
ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν τάχει{ς}. Ἀσπάζ[ζ]ε̣τε
{ται} Ψαλιοῦς καὶ οἱ σὺν ὑμῖν πάντας
Small traces of 1 more line.

Verso:

Ἀπ(όδος) ἅπα Πα-

ιηοῦς
π(αρὰ) Χαρίσιος.

1. l. ἠγαπημένῳ. [πα]ϊηους (so l. 11): l. Παιηοῦτι. 3. l. σε. κ̄ω̄. 4. l. Τρύφωνα, Γερόντιον. 5. l. Ἱέρακα, τούς, ἀδελφούς. 6. l. Πετνίριον, Λεωνίδην. 7. l. Πετθυβέστιον, Παπνούθην (so l. 8). 8. Over the αι of ασπαζομαι a character shaped like λ has been made. 9. l. τὸν Ἀνταιοπολίτην, Κολοβόν, τοὺς ἀδελφούς. καιωι. 10. ο of ονομα corr. from ω. ει of ειδοτες corr., perhaps from η; l. εἰδώς. 11. ω of παντων perhaps corr. from ο (or vice versa?). 12. First α of μαλλιστα perhaps inserted later. l. ἐμοῦ. 13 f. l. ἀρτάβην μίαν. 14. l. σταφύλια, ἕν (so l. 15). 15. l. γλυκελαίας. 16. l. ἀμελήσατε = ἀμέλησον (?: see note). 17. l. εἶπον (?). θ̄ς. 18. l. ἀσπάζονται (?: see note). 19. l. ἡμῖν. 21. πα ϊηους; l. Παιηοῦτι. 22. l. Χαρισίου.

'To the most valued and beloved father Apa Paièous, Charisius very many greetings. Before all things I greet you much in the Lord; I greet Apa Dioscorus and Apa Tryphon and Apa Gerontius and Apa Hierax and the brethren with you by name; I greet Petnirius and Leonides and Petthubestius and Papnouthes and Apa Touan and Apa Panare; I greet Papnouthes of Antaeopolis and Colobus and the brethren by name. Knowing then your zeal, father Apa Paièous, for all the brethren, and especially myself, behold I have sent you dates, two artabae, and lentil meal, one artaba and upwards, and grapes, one *cnidion*, and sweet olives, one *cnidion*; and if you need anything send to me and do not neglect (?) the matters of which I told you; and if God will I hope to come to you speedily. Psalious and those that are with us greet all [who are with you?]'. (Addressed) 'Deliver to Apa Paièous, from Charisius.'

1. [Πα]ιηοῦς: there is not very much room for πα, especially at the end of the line, where we should expect α to terminate in a flourish, and it may be suspected that the ἅπα led to the accidental omission of the πα of παϊηους.

6. Πετνίριος: the reading is almost certain, but the name does not occur in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*.

7. Πετθυβέστιος; cf. **1914**, 48, n. This name also is not found in Preisigke.

14. μιᾶς καὶ πρός: cf, P. Oxy. iii, 488, 17 and n. (Hunt).

15. κλοκελέας: for the almost certain correction to γλυκελαίας cf. l. 4, where Γερόντιος is written Κερόνδιος, and see too SB. 1984 (*f*), where γλυκελαίου appears as κλυκελέου. The word γλυκελαία does not seem to occur elsewhere, so far as the lexica and papyrus indexes go, but SB. 5747, 8, κεράμια β̄, ἓν κρέος, ἓν γλυκυελεων, seems likely to be an instance, γλ.

being for γλυκελαιῶν (so too, in the original edition, Grenfell, who accents γλυκυελεῶν), not for γλυκελαίου, as Preisigke takes it.

εἴ τι: as not infrequently happens, χρείαν ἔχεις is treated as practically a single, active verb, 'need', and so takes an accusative; cf. P. Lond. 239, 21 (ii, p. 298); Oxy. vii, 1068, 20; xiv, 1683, 17 f.; xvi, 1929, 3; and so too in the fragment of Aristides, *Apol.*, published by Milne (*Journ. Theol. Stud.*, xxv, 1923, 73–7), l. 26: πέμπουσιν αὐτοῖς ἃ χρείαν ἔχουσιν.

16 f. καὶ μὴ . . . σοι: not very satisfactory; the letter before the lacuna is certainly μ, not α, the letter after it, though it can at need be read as α, is not specially like it, and the reading and interpretation adopted involve the supposition that the writer not only wrote μελησα (μ[ελησ]ης is too much for the space) for ἀμέλησον but inserted a superfluous α at the beginning of l. 17 and wrote ειπεν for εἶπον. Nevertheless μὴ ἀμελήσῃς is so frequent in similar contexts that ἀμέλησον seems an obvious correction here. The omission of α is easy enough to account for after η, and the insertion of α in l. 17 may be due to the fact that the writer originally intended to write (e. g.) ἃ εἶπόν σοι.

17. τῶν: the use of the article for the relative pronoun is very frequent in vulgar Greek of the Byzantine period; cf., e. g., the instances collected in the indexes to P. Lond. iv (p. 533) and v (p. 289).

[τάχ]α: the α is likely, and though the word is hardly required after ἐὰν θέλῃ ὁ θεός it suits the space and may well have been added as an additional toning down of the assertion: 'I hope to come D. V.'

18 f. ἀσπά[ζ]εσθε {ται} . . . πάντας: this sentence is interpreted above as a greeting from the companions of Charisius to the community at Hathor. This seems likelier than to take ἀσπάζεσθε as = ἀσπάζεσθε and amend οἱ to τούς. Perhaps πάντας is for πάντες, as the traces in l. 20 do not favour (e. g.) τοὺς σὺν ὑμῖν.

21–2. The diagram on the right (taking the place of the usual crosses) marks the place where the string passed round the folded letter. To the left of ἀπ(όδοσις) is a crease, which suggests that the papyrus was folded here; and the diagram on the left is so placed that when the roll was thus folded it would come just opposite to that on the right. Thus the two diagrams prove conclusively that the letter was folded not only parallel to, but also at right angles with, the fibres of the verso, and that the string was passed round the letter and the seal attached after this second folding.

PAPYRUS 1919.—*Circa* A. D. 330–340.

Inv. No. 2547. 25·2 × 41·2 cm.

Acquired in 1923. Light brown papyrus. Imperfect on the left, except in the lower part of the papyrus, and rubbed along two narrow strips, one about the middle of col. 1, the other towards the left middle of col. 2. Written in a good, flowing, rather large cursive hand of notarial or official type, along the fibres, in black ink. Folded from right to left.

The mutilation of col. 1 of this letter makes its particular purpose uncertain, but indeed it is somewhat doubtful whether it had any special purpose at all. The earlier lines were occupied with the opening greeting, the complete or restorable lines (from l. 12 onwards) with compliments, religious reflections, and the concluding greetings, so that only two or three lines remain for any definite message or request, and it may well be that none such occurred. The style is of the usual wordy and empty kind, and is further obscured by the writer's inability (rather striking in the case of a man whose hand is so practised) to control his cases, which are in extreme confusion.

The writer's name is Πέννης, which at once recalls the Πίννης πρεσβύτερος μονῆς Πτεμεγκύρκεως τοῦ (Migne τῆς) Ἀντεοπολίτου νομοῦ whose letter to John

Archaph is quoted by Athanasius, *Apol. c. Ar.*, 67. He calls Paiêous ἀδελφός, not πατήρ, so that we may take him to have been a man of some standing. He mentions (l. 30) a Ψαῖς, who may be the Ψαεῖν ἀπὸ Τερότ of **1914**, 57, and Terôt (see **1914**, 57, n.) was near enough to the Antaeopolite nome to make a connexion possible. A further argument in favour of the identification is ll. 18–20, which, though at present very doubtfully read, show that Pinnes was living at a considerable distance from Paiêous. Φινές of **1914**, 56 is likely to be a different person, since that passage implies that Phines was in the neighbourhood of Paiêous's cell, and he is not called ἄπα, as a priest probably would be.

Col. 1.]

[Τῷ κυρίῳ κ]αὶ ἀδελφῷ ἡμῶν
[. . . . . ἄπα] Παιηοῦτι Πέννης
[ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ πλεῖστ]α χαίρειν.
[Πρὸ μὲν πάντων] εὔ[χομ]αι τῷ κυρίῳ θ(ε)ῷ
[. . . . .] . τ . ἀγ[α]γώντων σὺν
[. . . . .] . [. . .] τῷ ἔχοντι πάν-
[τα . . . . .? ἀδελ]φῶν συνπωνούντων
[. . . . .] διάθεσιν τὴν ἀδελφῷ
[. . . . . σε μάλ{λ}ιστα ὅτι σὺν θ(ε)ῷ
[. . . . .]ναςμε . . [.] ἀλλήλων τὴν
[. . . . . τ]ὴν ἐν ἡμεῖν προοδεύουσαν
[. . . . . τ]αύτην. Εὔχομαι οὖν τῷ ἀει-
[μνήστῳ θ(ε)ῷ π]άσαις ὥραις περὶ σοῦ καὶ περὶ
[τῶν ἀδελφῶ]ν ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ· καὶ γὰρ προσῆκόν
ἐστιν ἀλλήλ[ων μι]μνήσκεσθαι ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ Χ(ριστ)ῷ διὰ
τὴν ἑκατέρων ὑγείειαν· τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦντες
Χρηστιανοὶ κληθή[σο]μεν ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ. Τοῦτο δὲ
ἐν στέρνοις ἔχω ὅτι κἂν μεθα μακρὰν
ἀλλήλων ἐν τῇ πίστει τοῦ ἀειμνήστου θ(εο)ῦ
καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν . ι . . . αμεν κ[αὶ] ἐπ' αὐτόν

Col. 2.]

ἐστιν ἡ σωτηρία ἡμῶν Χ(ριστ)ῷ δυνάμει ὄντα σὺν τοῖς
πράττουσι τὴν α[ὐ]τοῦ μεγάλην δύναμιν καὶ συν-
εσχηκότες τὴ[ν] πρ[ο]σηγορείαν. Προσαγορεύω σε
πολλὰ καὶ τοὺ[ς ἀδε]λφ[ο]ὺς πάντας κατ' ὄνομα τοὺς σὺν
σοί, καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος προσαγορεύει σε καὶ τοὺς
σὺν σοὶ ἀδελφούς, κα[ὶ] οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν πάντες ἀδελφοὺς
προσαγορεύου[σί] σε μετὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν
σὺν σοὶ ἀδελφούς. Ἐφάνη δὲ ἡ ἀγάπη ὑμῶν
ἐν πᾶσι ἡ προκυρισσομένη, μάλ{λ}ιστα ἡ μαρ-

30 τυρηθεῖσα ἡμῖν ὑπὸ Ψαῖτος καὶ Ἁρποκρᾶ ἁλιεων,
ὡς καὶ συνηρίθμητε ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀγάπαις.
Τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦντες συνχρηστοὶ κληθήσο-
μεν.

Verso:

ἅπα Παι]ηοῦτι

35]ος.

Perhaps traces of 1 more line.

4. θω; so too l. 9. 5. l. ἀγαγόντων. 7. l. συμπονούντων. 11. l. ἡμῖν. 14. χω; so ll. 17, 21. 15. κω χω. 16. l. ὑγίειαν. 17. l. Χριστιανοί. 18. l. ἥμεθα (?: see note). 19. θυ. 21. l. Χριστοῦ . . . ὄντων (?). 22. πρατ'τουσι. l. συνεσχηκότων(?). 23. l. προσηγορίαν. 26. l. ἀδελφοί. 28. l. ἀδελφῶν. 29. l. προκηρυσσομένη. 31. l. συνηρίθμηται. ι of αγαπαις corr. 32. l. συγχριστοί.

'To our lord and brother Apa Paiêous, Pennes, very many greetings in the Lord. Before all things I pray to the Lord God . . . I pray therefore to the ever-to-be-remembered God at all hours on your behalf and on behalf of the brethren in Christ; for indeed it is fitting that we make mention of each other in the Lord Christ for the health of both; and so doing we shall be called Christians in Christ. This I have in my heart, that even though we were far from each other, (yet) in the faith of our ever-to-be-remembered God and Saviour [we are united?] and in him is our salvation, if we are by power of Christ with those who do his mighty power [*sc.* will?] and have jointly obtained the appellation [i. e. of Christians]. I greet you much and all the brethren by name that are with you. The blessed Paul greets you and the brethren with you, and all the brethren with us greet you with all the brethren with you. Your love which is trumpeted abroad was shown in all things, particularly that which was testified to us by Psais and Harpocras the fishermen, even as it is numbered among your other works of love. And doing this we shall be called fellows with Christ.'

2. It is quite possible that nothing is lost before ἅπα Παιηοῦτι and that l. 2 was indented, but an adjective may well have been inserted here, and as l. 3 was apparently not indented that is perhaps more probable.

4. The line over θω extends also over the ιω of κυριω, and as ιω is separated by a space from κυρ and was so written (the ω being linked to ι) as to look like κω it is possible that the writer, on reaching the end of the line, took the last two words for κω θω.

5. ἀγ[α]γόντων: ἀγαπώντων (e. g. μετὰ τῶν σε ἀγ.) is naturally suggested, but seems hardly possible, as the room is insufficient for α and the first stroke of π. But neither γ is certain.

8. ἀδελφῷ: ων of συνπωνούντων (l. 7) is made cursively, without raising the pen, but here the concluding stroke is not extended upwards as in l. 7, and it is improbable that more than ω was intended. The phrase may have been (e. g.) τὴν ἀδελφῷ πρέπουσαν.

9. μάλ{λ}ιστα: for the misspelling see l. 29 and **1918**, 12, and cf. too πόλλυ, **1915**, 17; **1916**, 37.

10.]υαςμε . . [.]: perhaps κατ(συν-, &c.)εσκε]υάςμεθα.

13. περί: cf. **1917**, 7, n. and 24, n.

15. μι]μνησκεσθαι: not a very easy reading, but possible, and it suits the traces better than anything else which has suggested itself.

18. *μεθα*: very puzzling. A verb is wanted, and the available space is scanty. The original characters are certainly very like *μεηθα*. *η* has been crossed out and *ε* written above it. Prof. Hunt's suggestion of *ἥμεθα*, though it cannot be read, is a probable correction. Apparently the writer, by a curious slip of the pen, wrote *μεηθα* for *ημεθα*, and then, attempting to correct it, altered *η* to *ε* instead of simply striking out *η* and inserting it before *η*. For *ἥμεθα* and other deponent forms see Moulton and Milligan, *s. v. εἰμί*.

21 f. As it stands the passage means nothing, and emendation is necessary. That adopted in the translation and critical notes seems the likeliest. *δύναμιν* in l. 22 is perhaps a slip of the pen (due to the *δυνάμει* of l. 21, which is directly above it) for *βούλησιν*.

25. *Παῦλος*: a *Παῦλον τὸν ἀναγνώστην* is mentioned in **1914**, 59, but was then with or near Paiêous. The *Παύλῳ [πρ]εσβυ[τ]αίρῳ τῷ ἀπὸ Τηέναιως* of **1917**, 11 is more likely to be the person here referred to, but quite as likely this Paul was different from either.

32. *τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦντες*: doing what? This seems to be mere unthinking verbiage, perhaps a recollection of ll. 16–17.

συνχρηστοί: *συγχρηστός* is an unlikely adjective, and the *Χρηστιανοί* of l. 17 (cf. **1913**, 6, *Χρηστιανικοῦ*; *χρηστοφόρῳ*, **1926**, 1; &c.) makes it almost certain that *συγχριστοί* is to be read. But the sense is not altogether clear. *συν-Χριστοί*, 'fellow-Christs', is rather bold, but is perhaps possible if we take the meaning to be 'fellow-workers with Christ'. Or has *χριστός* its original sense, '*anointed* jointly'? The word *may* be miswritten for *συνχρηστιανοί*.

35. Possibly *ἀπόδ]ος*.

PAPYRUS **1920**.—*Circa* A. D. 330–340.

Inv. No. 2488. 26 × 15 cm.

Acquired in 1922. Light brown papyrus, darker in patches but nowhere dark; lacunae in several places, especially on the left. Written in a fair-sized, upright cursive hand, rounded and fairly regular, with few ligatures, across the fibres, in black ink of a grey tinge. Folded from top and bottom, chiefly the latter. Facsimile (ll. 1–7): Plate III (*a*).

The following three papyri have considerable palaeographical value because of their early date, as also from the fact that their connexion with **1913** and **1914** makes them datable within comparatively narrow limits. This last point is of special importance because most early Coptic papyri so far known can be dated only on grounds of handwriting. In Mr. Crum's *Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the Rylands Library* is a group of letters (269, pl. 3; 270, pl 4; 271, pl. 4; 273, pl. 10; 274, pl. 2; 275; 292, pl. 5; 301; 311, pl. 3; 312, pl. 5; 314; 352, pl. 5; 396, pl. 4), all written in a more or less pure Achmîmic dialect and all dated by Crum, on grounds of script, comparatively early (fourth and fourth-fifth centuries). A comparison with the present letters shows that he was right. The Rylands letters do not indeed, from the hands, seem to be all of the same date, but a majority of them probably differ from one another by not many years, and in view of the evidence of **1920–1922** there is little danger in dating these in the fourth century, perhaps in the second rather than the first half. None of the hands very closely resembles that of **1920**; perhaps the nearest (rather in single letters than in general appearance) is 292. A far closer parallel is however no. 1102 (pl. 12) in Crum's *Catalogue* (from Ashmunên, i. e. Hermopolis), which may now definitely be dated in the fourth century and probably not late in it.

As pointed out in the introduction to this Part (p. 45) the evidence does not greatly support the assumption that **1920–1922** come from the same settlement as the Rylands letters.

The contents of **1920** are in no way remarkable. The subject is the making for the writer by Paiêous himself or his community of a cloak and some shoes, and the letter has therefore a certain interest, as illustrating the occupations of the monks; cf. **1922**. It is a reasonable inference from what is said that the writer, Hatre of Tmou mpahôm, was living at no great distance from the settlement of Hathor.

ϩatpe pⲁ̄ϣⲏⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲡⲉϥ
ⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲛϥ ⲛ̄ⲣϩⲁⲧϩⲱⲣ ⲉϥϣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ
ⲧⲟⲛⲟϥ ϩ̄ⲡ̄ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ χⲁⲓⲣⲉ ϯϣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ
ⲡⲁⲡⲁⲧⲁⲃⲉⲉⲓⲧ ϯϣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲡⲕⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲛⲟϥ
5 ⲁϥⲱ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲟϥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲛⲉⲙⲁⲕ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲣⲁ
ϯϣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉϩⲱⲣ ⲡⲣⲁ̄ⲓⲧⲱϩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲁϥ ϩⲉ
ⲗⲉⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲥϣⲏⲣⲉ ϯϣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲟ
[ⲙ]ⲟϥ ϩ̄ⲡ̄ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄
ϩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲧⲉ
10 ⲁⲉⲓϫⲟⲟⲥϩⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟⲟϥ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲉⲓ ϣⲁ
ⲣⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲗⲉⲃⲓⲧⲱⲛ ϯⲛⲟϥ
ⲉϣϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ϣϩⲟⲙ ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ [ⲕ]ⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉϫⲟϥ
[ⲱϣ . ⁘ .]ⲛ̣ⲉ̈ⲓⲧ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲕ̣ⲛ̣ⲁⲉⲓ ⲁϥⲱ
[. . . . .] ⲡⲉⲧⲕ̄ⲛⲁϫⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧ
15 [ⲛⲁⲛ ⲧ]ⲉ̈ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥⲡⲉ ⲉⲧ
[ⲛⲁϫⲓ]ⲧ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛ̄
[. . .]ⲁⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉⲡⲉ
[. . . . .]ⲁⲧⲁⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲑⲉ ϭⲁⲣ ϣⲱⲡⲉ
[ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲁⲧⲁⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉⲁⲣ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ϣⲱ
20 [ⲙ]ⲉ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲕϣⲁⲛⲧⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲥ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ
[ⲉ]ⲥⲛⲏⲟϥ ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ ⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲃⲉϥ
ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲉϥϣⲟⲩⲱⲟϥ ⲁⲉⲓ
[ⲧⲁ]ⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲃⲉϥ ⲛ̄ⲧ̣ⲥ̣[. . .] ϯⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲉⲛ
[ϫⲉ]ⲙ̣ⲧⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲙ̣[ⲁⲛⲟⲩ]ϥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲁ
25 [ⲙⲉ]ⲉⲩⲉ ϩⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲧⲱ[ⲃ]ⲥ̄ ⲉϫⲱⲉⲓ

ⲟⲩϫⲁⲉⲓ ϩ̄ⲡ̄ϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄
ⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ϩⲱⲱⲧ

Verso ⲁⲡ̄ ⲡⲁ̈ⲓⲛⲩ ϩⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲩ̄ (ornament) ⲡⲁⲣⲁ̄ ⲁ[ⲧⲣⲓⲧⲟⲥ]

2. First ϩ altered from ⲗ. ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩ-, equally possible. 4. ⲡⲁⲡⲁ: *sic*. 5. ⲣⲁ: no line visible over ⲁ. 12. Or doubt as to the reading. 13. Right ends of first ⲉ are broken off, but there is little 17. Read ? ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲣⲏⲧⲉ; cf. l. 11. 25. ϩⲱⲱ: *sic*; cf. l. 27. 27. ⲧⲛ: *sic*.

'Hatre of Tmou mpahôm [1] it is that writes (to) his father Paeiêw of P-hathôr,[2] greeting him much. In the Lord hail (χαῖρε).[3] I greet my father Patabeit;[4] I greet the little Paeiêw (5) and all the brethren that are with you, according to (κατά) their names; I greet Hôr of Tôhe[5] and his mother Helenê and her children. I greet you (*plur.*) much in the Lord, desiring to see your face as it were the face of angels (ἄγγελος).[6] Seeing that (ἐπειδή) (10) I spoke, then, to you, on the day when you came to us, respecting the fashion[7] of a cloak (λεβίτων);[8] so now, if it be possible, make it according to (κατά) your[9] wish (?) [. . . . .] . . . I send it when you shall come. And . . . whatever you shall spend thereon. He that (15) [shall bring] this letter (ἐπισ.) to you, the same [shall take] it (*sc.* the cloak)[10] to you. Again if you wish, [. . . . .] . . .[11] But (ἀλλά) as to[12] the fashion of the shoes, [. . . . .] make them;[13] there[14] has not been means [that I] should make them, for there has been a little (20) sickness. If you make it (*sc.* the cloak) and you find a brother about to come, send it, or (ἤ) give it to Pahbew.[15] See, an *oipe* of dried grapes have I given to Pahbew . . . [. . . . .]. I know indeed (μέν) that you are a good (?) man[16], but (ἀλλά) have (25) mind of me also and pray for me. Farewell in the Lord and do you (*plur.*) have mind of me also.[17]

Verso. 'Give (ἀπόδος) it to Paiêw the confessor (ὁμολογητής), from (παρά) Ha[três].'

The ornament between the two parts of the address apparently consists of a parallelogram placed at right angles to the writing and enclosing, on the left, a number of lines crossing one another diagonally, on the right, a number of upright lines from top to bottom of the parallelogram.

[1] An unknown place. 'Eagle Island.'

[2] Cf. **1913**, 3, n.

[3] Despite the phrase in l. 8, this division of the words is made probable by the many Coptic letters using ϩⲁⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉ.

[4] The first ⲡⲁ may, as so often, represent ⲁⲡⲁ, if it is not a mere error.

[5] The best known Tôhe (Tukh) was near Hermopolis; *v.* P. Ryl. Copt. 42, n. 342, n.; *Wadi Sarga*, no. 133, n. Presumably Tôhe, being thus named, was not in the immediate neighbourhood.

[6] Reminiscent perhaps of Acts vi, 15.

[7] ⲣⲏⲧⲉ in Sa'idic, an archaic and very rare word (Zoega, 269, 564); not uncommon in Achmîmic, where it sometimes corresponds to Sa. ⲥⲁⲟⲩ (Mich. vii, 20; Zach. iv, 1). It can hardly have any but a concrete, material meaning here. Note that ϩⲉ too is used (ll. 9, 18).

[8] On the gender of this cf. *Wadi Sarga*, no. 161, n. Men who wear such a garment are no doubt monks.

[9] Or 'their'.

[10] The genders of the various accusatives prevent doubt as to what objects are in question.

[11] ⲛ at end of l. 16 may be plur. art., or pronom. form of ⲉⲓⲙⲉ 'bring'.

[12] If ⲉ (as in MS.) and not ⲉⲧⲃⲉ be read, it may, with following -ⲡⲉ, indicate a participial construction.

[13] ⲧⲁⲡⲟ and ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ (l. 12) differ presumably in meaning, but it is difficult to distinguish them. The former is very rarely used of the making of a material object (Zoega, 423).

[14] It seems best to leave ⲧⲁⲣ untranslated.

[15] This name as here in Rossi, *Nuovo Cod.*, p. 3, and the same person (a martyr) as ⲡⲁϩⲃⲉⲟⲩ, *MSS. coptes de Leyde*, 185; and the name as ⲡⲁⲓϩⲃⲉⲟⲩ in a graffito at Achmîm, *Rec.*, xi, 147. In *Miss.*, iv, 422, 'Baba' is the Arabic transcript of the above martyr's name (cf. P. Lond. iv, p. 410, n.), which thus appears to be connected with Achmîm.

[16] A similar phrase in *Mon. of Epiphanius*, no. 327.

[17] These words recall the postscript often added by the scribe, who however usually gives his name.

PAPYRUS **1921**.—*Circa* A.D. 330–340.

Inv. No. 2549. 24·5 × 19·8 cm.

Acquired in 1923. Lightish brown papyrus; a good deal rubbed in places and with several small lacunae, besides the loss of a strip down the whole sheet near the left side of the letter; the two fragments are nowhere continuous but the gap is smallest in ll. 22–7. Written in a fair-sized, upright, rather square cursive hand with very few ligatures, along the fibres, in black ink. Folded from left to right. Facsimile (ll. 22–8): Plate III (*b*).

This letter, though, apart from an announcement of the dispatch of some articles (provisions?), it consists entirely of greetings and pious compliments, is not without interest, firstly for the reflections and scriptural quotations in the earlier part, and secondly because it is apparently a letter from, not to, Paiêous. There are indeed difficulties as to this last assertion. The first line is very imperfect, so that though ⲡⲁ[ⲓ]ⲏⲟⲩ comes at the end, where we naturally look for the name of the writer, it is not impossible that the usual order might be reversed. But the address on the verso is clear: ⲡ̀ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲏⲟⲩⲥ ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲩ. ⲡ̀ is the regular abbreviation for *παρά*, which in addresses precedes the sender's name, and it is not plausible to explain it here as = *παράδος*; where a verb was used at all it was either *ἀπόδος* or *ἐπίδος*. The translation must therefore be 'From Paiêous', and since he is not likely to have called himself 'the just', we must conclude that Dikaios was his father's name; for the word as a personal name see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*. But there are difficulties even here. It is strange that the recipient's name was not given in the address, whereas the sender's name was, and it is hardly less so that in an archive which was clearly that of Paiêous himself we should find (not a draft but) an actual letter written by him. Internal evidence too would naturally suggest that he was the recipient. The writer addresses his correspondent with great deference and respect, as we should expect Paiêous to be addressed. Hierax, Tryphon, and Dioscorus, to whom greetings are sent, are known as members of the community at Hathor; Isidorus, who *sends* greetings, is not. The articles sent by the writer were delivered by Megalonymus, who is almost certainly identical with the Μικαλώνην of **1917**, a man there also clearly not belonging to the Hathor community. In every way it would be more satisfactory, but for the address, to regard Paiêous as the recipient, and the suspicion arises that the writer may have blundered in the address and inserted ⲡ̀ before ⲡⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲥ instead of before ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲩ; but this can hardly be assumed on *a priori* grounds Paiêous may have been temporarily absent from his monastery and this letter have been directed by him during this absence to his deputy or temporary successor.

The dialect here shows decided characteristics of the younger type of Achmîmic (*Acta Pauli*): ⲁⲗⲁⲗ, ⲁⲣⲁϥ, ⲧⲉⲉⲓ demonstrative, verbal forms ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ, ⲙ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲉⲓⲧ, ⲧⲉ- causative prefix, ⲣ- before Greek verbs (? l. 18); but the majority of its forms are common to Achmîmic and Middle-Egyptian. The only word already purely Sa'idic is the verb ⲟ (ll. 10, 12). The script may be compared with those of Rylands Catalogue, pl. 3, nos. 276, 311, pl. 5, no. 313.

петс[ ]па[ι]ноу

ϩⲙ̅пхаеіс [ха]ірє̣ [ε] ⲛ̀ⲧⲁреп ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛ
ⲛ̀ϩⲱⲟ [ⲛ]ⲓⲙ [ⲧⲱ]ϥⲙ̅ⲙⲁ̣ⲧ ⲧⲙ̅ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲧ
ⲉⲃⲉⲡⲉ[ⲕ . . . .] ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲩⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲁ[ⲧⲉ . . . .] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲛⲣⲁⲩ[ⲧ] ϩⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲕ
ϩⲙ̅ⲙⲛ[ⲟⲩⲉⲧⲛⲁ]ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲱⲥ
[τ]
ⲧⲉ ⲁ̣ⲛ[. . . . .]ⲛ̣ⲁⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲉⲃⲉⲧⲉⲕ
ⲡⲓⲥⲧ[ⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ] ⲧⲉⲕ[ⲁ]ϩⲁⲡⲏ ⲧ[ⲉ]ⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲩ
[ϒ]
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲕ [ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲥ .] . ⲁ̣ϩⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁ ⲉⲛⲣ̣ⲁⲧ ⲛ̀ⲕⲉⲱⲛ·
τ ε ε
ⲉⲃⲉⲡⲉⲕ[ⲥⲙⲁ]ⲧ ϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲕⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲉⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑ[ⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧ]ⲁⲡϩⲁⲉⲓⲥ ϫⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲡⲁⲛ ϫⲉ
ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲗⲁ[ⲁⲩ ⲉ]ϥⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲉⲓ ⲧⲁϩⲣ ⲙ̅ⲡⲛⲉϩ
ε
ⲃⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧ[ⲉ ⲡⲃ]ⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ϫⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲥⲉ
ⲡⲉϣⲁ[ⲥⲣⲁⲓ ϩ]ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥϩⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲡ ⲉⲡ
ⲡⲓⲥⲧ[ⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲣⲁ]ϥ ϫⲉⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲱⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲉⲓ
γ
ϩⲉ· ⲁϩⲟ[ⲩⲛ ⲉⲟ]ⲩⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁ· ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲛⲣⲁⲧ
ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲩ[. .] ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⲥⲁⲣ ϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲥ ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁⲛ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲁ ⲉⲣ̅ⲡ[ⲓⲥ]ⲧⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲁϥ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲓ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛ
ⲥⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁⲡ̅ⲣⲉ[ⲧ] ⲉⲉⲓⲕⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁ
ε
ⲙⲉⲉⲩ ϩⲙ̅[ⲡⲉⲕ]ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲉⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲓ̈ⲥⲓⲁⲱⲣⲟⲥ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉ [ⲁⲣⲁⲕ] ⲧⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲧⲣ[ⲩ]ⲫⲱⲛ ⲧⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲉ
ⲧⲛⲏⲛⲣⲉ [ⲓⲉ]ⲣⲁϩ ⲙⲙⲡⲕⲉⲥⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲉϥ ⲧⲙ̀ⲡ(*sic*)
ϯⲟⲩⲱϣ [ⲁ]ⲓⲟⲩⲟⲣⲟⲥ ϯⲛⲟⲩⲥⲉ ⲁⲉⲓⲧⲙ̅ⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̅ⲙⲏ
ⲧⲉⲉⲓⲉ ⲛ̀[.]ⲡ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲙ̅ⲙⲏⲕⲉⲥⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲙⲩⲕⲁⲗⲱⲛⲩⲙⲟⲥ
ⲉⲩⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉ [ⲉ]ⲧⲉⲕⲙ̅ⲙⲉ ϫⲉⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲓⲕⲁⲗⲱⲛⲩⲙⲟⲥ
ⲛⲉⲥ . . [ⲉ]ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲉⲉⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲡⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲁⲧⲙ̀ⲛⲁⲩⲡⲉ
ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲧ[.]ⲁ̣ⲣⲁⲕ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ ⲙ̅ⲙⲏ
ⲛ
ⲉⲣ[ⲱⲙⲉ ⲧ]ⲛ̣ⲣⲟ[ⲩ] ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲉϥ ϯⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ
[ⲙⲙⲛⲉⲧⲛⲙ̅]ⲙⲉⲕ ⲧⲛⲣⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲉⲛ
[ⲉⲣⲣⲱⲥⲑⲁⲓ ⲥⲉ] ⲉⲩⲭⲟⲙⲁⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲕ̅ⲱ ⲑ̅ⲱ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲱ
[ⲧⲁⲧⲉ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲥⲓⲱ]ⲧⲁ̣ⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲣ

Verso. ⲛ̀ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲩ/

'Pets . . . . . [1] Paiêu.

In the Lord hail (χαίρετε)! Before (+μέν) [all] things [I] give thanks unto God because of your (?) [. . . . .], since (ὡς) you are a [2] man (5) most (?) blessed (μακάριος) . . . . . and zealous in your good (?) works (inspired) of God, so that (ὥστε) . . . . . with joy because of your faith (πίστις) [and] your love (ἀγάπη) that you have toward [3] every one. We are glad a little [4] (10) because of your [manner (? of life)] [5], since (ὡς) you are a soldier of Christ; even (κατά) as the Lord said in the . . . . . [6], "No one that is a soldier mixeth [7] (himself) in the affairs of [this [8]] life (βίος) [9]" and "the husbandman that laboureth, [he] it is [10] [taketh] of his (*sic*) fruit (καρπός) the first." [11] We (15) believe (πιστεύειν) Him (?), that thus it shall be fulfilled toward (?) every one that labours. And we are glad because of . . . . . For (γάρ) the scripture (γραφή) saith, "Whosoever believeth (πιστ.) [12] on Him shall not be put to shame." [13] So now, [14] my father and my beloved, do you (?) [15] remember (20) me in [your] holy prayers. Isidore [16] greets [you]. I greet Apa Tryphon, [17] I greet . . . . . Hierax [18] and the other brother that is with him. I greet (and) I do obeisance to [19] Dioscorus. [20] And now I have sent you fifteen . . . . . and other six by (?) Megalonymus, [21] (25) who desires (?) that you should know that Apa Megalonymus . . . . .; for (γάρ) if he had sold (?) (them), he would have sent them, [22] with those that you (already) have. [23] But (ἀλλά) he greets you and (so do) all [those] that are with him. I greet you [and] all [those with] you, according to (κατά) their names. [Fare you well], I pray, in

[1] The recipient's name begins either with Pets . . ., or with Peus . . . That this should be no name, but an epithet (formed with the relative, or the article) applied to Paiêous, seems improbable here.

[2] **ⲉⲡⲕ-** for **ⲉⲡⲧⲕ-**. Cf. **ⲉⲑⲉ-** for **ⲉⲧⲑⲉ-** in ll. 4, 7, 10. No trace here of **ⲧ** above.

[3] Neither **ⲫⲁ-** nor **ⲡ]ⲥⲁ-** is legible here.

[4] **ⲡⲕⲉⲱⲛⲁ** often means merely 'a little'; e.g. Prov. v, 14; Mk. viii, 7.

[5] If **ⲥⲙⲁⲧ**, the meaning may be 'your example'.

[6] Can **ⲡⲁⲛ̄** be miswritten for **ⲡⲛⲁ̄**, 'in the Spirit'?

[7] **ⲧⲁϩⲣ** *sic*, presumably a mere slip for **ⲧⲁϩϥ**.

[8] Space hardly allows **ⲡⲓ-** and Sa'id. has **ⲡ-** (τοῦ).

[9] 2 Tim. ii, 4.

[10] **ⲡⲉⲱⲁϥ-**, as the Sa'id. (*sic cod.*; cf. Horner, p. 572).

[11] 2 Tim. ii, 6.

[12] Here again **ⲧ** seems to be omitted; l. **ⲉⲧⲣ-**.

[13] Rom. x, 11.

[14] **ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲛⲟ̀ⲉ** is presumably intended.

[15] For ? **ⲉⲕⲉⲉⲓⲣⲉ**.

[16] Does not occur elsewhere.

[17] Cf. **1914**, 54; **1918**, 4.

[18] There seems no room for **ⲣⲓⲉ** in the gap and **ⲧⲏⲓⲛⲣⲉ** I cannot explain. Presumably the object of the preceding **ⲱⲓⲡⲉ**. The 2nd plur. **-ⲧⲏⲡⲉ**, to be expected in this dialect, would not be grammatical after this verb. **ⲣⲉ** might recall the enclitic, 'further, besides', in *Papyruscodex*, pp. 26, 34. For Hierax cf. **1914**, 55; **1916**, 3; **1918**, 5.

[19] Reading **ϯⲱⲓⲡⲉ ϯⲟⲩⲱⲱ(ⲧ) ⲛⲁ**.

[20] Cf. **1916**, 3; **1918**, 4.

[21] Cf. **1917**, 12, n.

[22] Assuming this to represent **ⲉⲡⲉϥϯ . . . ⲡⲉϥⲡⲁⲧⲓⲡⲟⲟⲩⲡⲉ**, though **ⲧⲉⲉⲓ** for **ϯ** may seem improbable. Clearly it cannot here be the demonstrative, as in ll. 8, 15; consequently the preceding **ⲡⲉϥ** cannot be dative.

[23] Assuming **ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲕ**; but all is uncertain.

the Lord God, most blessed [and] most [saintly] father.' ([ἐρρῶσθαί σε] εὔχομαι ἐν κυρίῳ θεῷ μακαριώ[τατε καὶ ἁγιώ]τατε πάτερ.)

Verso. 'From (παρά) Paiêous (son) of Dikaios.'

Papyrus 1922.—*Circa* A. D. 330–340.

Inv. No. 2548. 23 × 17·7 cm.

Acquired in 1923. Brown papyrus with some lighter patches; imperfect on the right except in ll. 2–7 and with some lacunae elsewhere. Written in a rather large, irregular cursive hand with not many ligatures, along the fibres, in greyish black ink. Facsimile (ll. 3–12): Plate III (*c*).

It is by no means certain that this letter was addressed to Paiêous. The end of l. 1 is mutilated; the visible letters cannot be reconciled with the reading ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ and rather suggest ⲡ[ⲉⲓ]ⲗⲟ[ⲥ], nor is there room for ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ after the ⲁ̣. (But if ⲡ[.]ⲗ̣ⲟ could be satisfactorily accounted for it would be possible to read (e. g.) [ⲡ]ⲁ[ⲓⲛⲟⲩ].) Hence it must be considered doubtful whether the letter really belongs to the Meletian archive at all, especially since the names Bes, Aphyngius, Chariton, and Pshen . . . do not elsewhere occur in the collection. On the other hand the names Helen (here doubtful) and Horion are found in other letters, and T . . . of l. 16 may be Tryphon, who also occurs elsewhere. The mention of a λεβίτων connects the letter with **1920**, and its general appearance makes it likely that it belongs to the same period. Hence it is on the whole probable that it is one of the Meletian letters; whether it was addressed to Paiêous or some other member of the community must be left in doubt. Unfortunately it appears to have borne no address on the verso.

The idiom of the writer differs notably from that of the other two papyri. Conspicuous in it is the very rare verbal prefix ϩⲁ- as Perf. I (ll. 4, 6 ?, 11 ?, 14), and its relative ⲉⲧϩⲁ- (l. 7). See *Wadi Sarga*, no. 1, and references; also the *Acta Pauli*. On the other hand ⲁ- seems here to represent Pres. II (ll. 4, 5, 21). To be noted further is the suffix -ⲧⲟⲩ (l. 18), beside the usual -ⲥⲟⲩ; also the frequent doubling of consonants: ⲕ, ⲗ, ⲙ, ⲣ, ⲧ. The vowel system is in the main Middle-Egyptian: the forms ⲉⲃⲁⲗ, ⲉⲣⲁⲕ, ⲙⲁⲣⲉ, ϩⲓⲧⲁⲧ- (l. 3, but ϩⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ- l. 17) distinguish it from the 'Achmîmic' group, though others: ⲛⲉⲕ, ⲥⲁⲡ, ⲥⲣⲉⲓ, ⲥⲡⲛⲉⲟⲩ, ⲧⲙⲁⲩ, ϫⲁⲉⲓⲧ, &c., are common to both these dialects.

The script too is remarkable: with one exception so far (Crum, *Short Texts*, no. 184, where the dialect shows some of the above features), this scribe is alone in forming his ϩ backwards Ϛ. His ⲱ approximates to that of early Fayyûmic MSS.: cf. especially Crum, *Catal.*, pl. 11, no. 711.

Bнс ⲙⲛⲁϥⲡⲥⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲥϩⲉⲓ ⲡ[.]ⲗ̣ⲟ[.]ⲁ̣[
ⲙⲡⲛⲉⲥⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲱⲡⲉⲣⲁⲕ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓ
ⲱⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲁⲕⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲁⲧⲡ
ϫⲉⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲏⲧ ϩⲁⲛϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲛⲥⲱⲱⲧ

5 ϫεακηηογ ηπκκϊ ϱιτλεϐιτογ ⲙⲛⲛλ
λεητε ϱ[ⲁ]ητηηαγϲογ ηχαρ[ι]τογ ϫεⲙ[αι]
ϲογ ηεκ ⲁογω κατα ⲑε ετϱⲁϊϫοϲ
ετϐεπερταϐ ϲⲛⲛεογ ηαρⲱⲙ η . . [
ⲱⲁπογ αρι ππραογⲱ ηπερταϐ ϲⲛⲛ[εογ
10 ηϫαειτ ⲙⲁτⲛηαγϲογ ηει[
ⲛⲛεϥϲ[
ϱιτλλεϐιτογ ηπⲁηο ϱⲁⲙ[
η ε
ⲙⲛτωκ τηⲱⲙε ⲁπⲁⲱⲙ[
ⲙⲛⲛεττⲛⲛεⲙⲉϥ ⲁγω ϱιλε[ηη λεη]
τε ϱⲁητεηηαγϲογ ⲉⲱρριωη ϕⲁ[
15 Χαριτωη ϫεⲙⲁϊⲥογ ηεκ τηⲱ[ⲙε ⲁ
ⲙⲛⲛετⲛⲛεⲙⲉϥ τηⲱⲙε ετ[
ⲙⲛⲛεϥϲⲁⲛ ⲉⲱⲟπε ϱⲁτοοτκ [
ⲛⲛϐⲛⲛε ⲙⲁτⲛηαγτογ ⲁογω τ[
ϐιτογ ⲙⲁϐϲⲛⲛεογ ϭιϭ ⲟ[
20 ⲁⲛⲛεογ ετετⲓⲙⲏ [η]ηκογει η[
ϲογ ηεη ⲉⲱⲟπε ⲁⲛⲱⲉιρε ϱⲁ[
ηεκ ηεϲⲛⲛογ [τ]ⲏρογ ⲱⲙε ⲉ[ρⲁκ
ⲁογϱⲱϐ ⲉϫⲛⲁ ⲙⲁϥ ϲρει
ειϲ ⲙⲱⲉ . ω (*blank*)

Verso, at right angles to the preceding text. Of l. 25 scarcely a letter is distinguishable.

26 ⲉⲓⲁϱⲉ ⲉⲱⲟπε ⲁⲉ ⲉ . ⲛⲉⲉγⲉⲛϲϐⲱ η . ⲓⲁ
πραⲕⲛⲉ ⲉⲱⲟπε ⲁϥⲁⲕτ . . . ϱⲁⲕϫοϲ ⲉⲁⲕⲕ . . .
ρεπογω ταϱⲁη

'Bês and Aphinge[1] it is that write to . . . and all the brethren. They greet you, our father. Seeing (*κατά*) how you went forth from us (saying), "I am coming north," we are grown weary expecting (5) that you should come. You have not come with (?) the cloak (*λεβίτων*)[2] and the napkin (*λέντιον*). [We] sent them to Charitôn (saying that he should)[3] give them to you. And seeing (*κατά*) how I said regarding the two *artabas* of lentils that [were to be?][4] bought,

[1] The first name is rare. Βης ὦ 'Big Bês', Βης κουΐς, Βης σῆμ 'Little Bês', are found. In *Cemeteries of Abydos*, iii, 39 it is a woman's name (cf. Βῆσις). To the second 'Αφίγκιος, 'Απφύγχιος correspond. On the analogy of 'Αρουώγχιος, &c. = ϱερογοϫ (cf. Crum, *Catal.*, no. 1028) one might here assume ⲉϥογοϫ as the original form. But H. Thompson points out that 'Αφίγκιος has been accepted as an equivalent of the later ⲉⲃⲱⲛϱ.

[2] Cf. **1920**, n. 8.

[3] Lit. 'saying, Give them to thee'. Similarly in l. 15.

[4] Or 'that [you (?) have] bought', though in l. 7 the relative has a different form. '[Saying,] buy them' is also possible.

have a care for the two *artabas* (10) of olives; send them to me (?) . . . with (?) the cloak (λεβίτων) of . . .[1] on account of (?) . . . of his[2] . . . and yours.[3] We greet Apa Pshen . . . and those with him, and Hele[ne.[4] The (?) napki]ns (λέντιον)[5] we have sent to Horiôn[6] the . . . (of) (15) Charitôn, (saying that he should) give them you. We greet . . . and those with him. We greet T . . . and his brother. If you have in hand . . . of dates, send them.[7] And . . . fetch them (?).[8] Thirty-two lengths (?)[9] of . . . (20) make them (?)[10] at the price (τιμή) [of] the small . . . [send ?] them to us, if we can do according . . . you. All the brethren greet [you ?] . . . something to get (?).[11] Write . . .

Verso. . . . But if . . . If he . . . what you said . . ., let (?) the answer reach us.'

[1] This abbreviated word—assuming ⲡⲁⲛⲟ the right reading—may be a name, a place (Πανός ?), or may designate the material whereof the *lebitôn* was made. Further, ⲡ may be the article, ⲡ-ⲁⲛⲟ, or ⲡⲁ the possessive, 'my', ⲡⲁ-ⲛⲟ (? 'my *nomisma*'). It would, however, be possible to read ⲧⲥⲁⲛⲟ, though it would be difficult to accommodate this verb ('to make') to the context.

[2] Or ϩⲁⲛ- may be verbal, as in ll. 4, 14, and so too ⲛⲛⲉϥ-.

[3] This can hardly be right, for how can ⲛⲉϥ- and ⲧⲱⲛ agree?

[4] Cf. **1920**, 6.

[5] Supposing the words in ll. 5, 6 to be repeated. But it is doubtful whether enough letters could be got into the lost part of the line.

[6] Cf. **1914**. 53; **1917**, 18.

[7] Note the suffix here, compared with that in ll. 6, 14.

[8] Perhaps better ⲗⲉ]ⲃⲓⲧⲟⲩ, another reference to the *lebitôn*.

[9] Assuming ⲥⲓⲥ to stand for ⲥⲓϫ.

[10] Supposing this to be the verb ⲧⲁⲡⲟ (cf. **1920**), with doubled ⲡ.

[11] Not satisfactory, since ϫⲛⲁ should not here represent ϫⲛⲟ.

III. THE CORRESPONDENCE OF PAPHNUTIUS

THE seven letters which follow were all, according to the statement of the dealer from whom they were purchased, discovered together. That the statement is correct is sufficiently shown by the contents of the letters themselves, which are all, with one exception (**1927**), addressed to a certain Paphnutius; in **1927** the name of the recipient does not occur, but there is no reason to doubt that it belongs to the same archive as the others and was, like them, sent to Paphnutius. Unfortunately no information was given as to provenance, and the one place which occurs in the correspondence (*Φιλονίκου*, **1924**, 5), though it may probably be identified with a place so-called in the Heracleopolite nome, can give no help as to the locality in which Paphnutius lived and in which the papyri were found. There is one piece of evidence which suggests (see **1927**, intr.) that this is to be sought farther south than Oxyrhynchus, but the inference is not certain. No dates occur, but here the evidence of script is decisive. A comparison with, for example, the Abinnaeus correspondence, which can be dated exactly, makes it clear that these letters also belong to the fourth century, probably to about the middle of it. A further argument, more hazardous but of some weight, may be drawn from a personal name. The letter numbered **1924** was from a certain Ausonius, who subscribes at the foot, the letter being written by an amanuensis. The name Ausonius was not very common in Egypt; and though several persons so-called do occur in papyri (*Αὐσόνιος ὁ καὶ Κλεάνθης βουλευτὴς ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἱερονίκης*, P. Lips. 18, 3rd–4th cent.; *Αὐσονίῳ Νεμεσιανῷ* and *Αὐσονίῳ τῷ κόμετι*, *Stud. Pal.*, xx, 111, 4th–5th cent.; *Αὐσονίου γεναμένου πρεσβυτέρου*, PSI. iii, 183, A.D. 484; *Αὐσονίου ἀπὸ βενεφικιαλίων*, Oxy. xvi, 1917, 63, sixth century; *τοῦ κυρίου μου διασημοτάτου ἡγεμόνος Αὐγουσταμνείκης Φλαουίου Ἰουλίου Αὐσονίου*, Oxy. i, 87, A.D. 342; cf. Oxy. 1559, A.D. 341, where the same name is to be read in l. 8), yet there is, if Preisigke's *Namenbuch* can be trusted, only one whose date is very suitable to that suggested by the hand of our letters. This is the last of those referred to in the foregoing list, who was prefect of Augustamnica in 341 and 342. Now the hand of **1924** is one of distinctly official type, and the subscription, though of a quite different character and much less ornamental, is that of a practised and, apparently, educated writer. The tone of the letter too suggests a man in authority and well suits the prefect.[1] There is therefore some ground for the identification and, consequently, for placing the letters about the middle of the fourth century.

The name Paphnutius (Papnuthius, &c.[2]) was common, and it is difficult

[1] It does not follow of course that he was prefect when the letter was written. The omission of the title, in a purely private and personal letter, is indeed no proof that he was not.

[2] The following forms occur in the present correspondence: *Παπνούθιος* **1923**, **1924**, Ghedini 25, *Παφνούθις* (**1926**), *Παφνούτιος* (**1926**), *Παπνούτιος* (**1925**, **1928**, **1929**).

to identify the owner of our archive. It is abundantly clear that he was a man of standing and high reputation for sanctity. The letters are for the most part from persons of education, exhibiting a greater mastery of Greek and better orthography than the average. **1924** may probably, as we have seen, be from an official of high rank; the writers of **1925** and **1928** were both of them in a position to employ an amanuensis, and not of necessity, for they both wrote with ease and fluency; **1927** is written in a definitely literary uncial and is couched in a style which, if wordy and turgid, reveals literary ambitions; the writer of **1926**, though her orthography is poor, was probably a woman of some wealth and position; and lastly **1929** may actually be from the pen of St. Athanasius himself. Yet all the writers address Paphnutius with obvious respect and even deference. That he was an anchorite is evident from **1925** and **1926**; and the address of **1925**, if rightly read, implies that he was connected with a monastic settlement. It is therefore not unnatural to suppose that he may be a person known to history. Unfortunately there were several men of the name who played a prominent part in the religious history of the fourth century, and they are moreover not always easy to distinguish. The following may however be mentioned:

On the Catholic side we have (1) a bishop of the Upper Thebaid, a confessor, who lost his eye in the Great Persecution, and was present at Nicaea and afterwards at the Synod of Tyre. He was a friend and partisan of Athanasius. See, e. g., Socrates, i, 8, 11; Rufinus, *H. E.*, i, 4; Sozomen, ii, 25. (2) Different from the former was Paphnutius, Bishop of Sais (Athan., *Tom. ad Antioch.*, Migne, *P. G.*, xxvi, 808). He was appointed about 347 (Athan., Festal Letter xix, Migne, xxvi, 1430), and therefore cannot be identified with any one of the three Egyptian bishops of the same name present at the Occidental Council of Sardica in 342 or 343[1] (Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 50). He may however be the bishop banished by the Arians at the time of Athanasius's third exile (Athan., *Hist. Ar.*, 72. (3) Paphnutius 'Cephalas', the well-known anchorite, for whom see Butler's note, *Lausiac Hist.*, ii, p. 224, note 89. (4) At least one other anchorite of the name, for whom see Butler, *loc. cit.* On the Meletian side, we have (5) the Παφνούτιός τις, μέγας ἀνὴρ ἀναχωρητής, καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸς ὁμολογητρίας τυγχάνων, whom Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.*, lxviii, 5, mentions as one of the Meletian deputation to Constantine; and we also find (6) a Paphnutius, a monk of the monastery of Ptemencyrcis, who wrote the letter of Pinnes in Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 67.

Our Paphnutius is not in the least likely to be no. 1 above, and no. 6 can also be ruled out. The Bishop of Sais (2) is possible, since he may have been an anchorite before his appointment or have become one after his exile, but there is no evidence for this, and on the whole the Paphnutius of these letters, if a known person at all, is likeliest to be one of the Catholic anchorites (3 and 4) or the Meletian anchorite (5) mentioned by Epiphanius. Among these it is quite impossible to make a definite choice, especially since we do not know that Paphnutius was not a person wholly unknown to history. There is however some reason to identify him with the recipient of a letter previously published. This is no. 6 in A. Deissmann's *Septuaginta-Papyri* (= Ghedini 25), a letter

[1] For the date see **1914**, 33, n.

addressed by a certain Justinus to [τῷ κυρίῳ] μου καὶ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ Παπνουθίῳ χρηστοφόρ[ῳ] (this, not Χρηστοφόρ[ου] is to be read on the analogy of **1926**, 1). The date of this letter is clearly the same as that of our collection, the format and arrangement are similar, and the subject of the letter (a request for prayers) also connects it with ours. The fact that it was acquired separately and long before the present archive (in 1897) is not a fatal objection.[1]

Unfortunately Ghedini 25 does not in any way help to identify Paphnutius. The choice (if choice of a known person must be made) between the Catholic and the Meletian anchorites of the name is of some importance for the question of the authorship of **1929**. Obviously, if Paphnutius was a Meletian, that letter cannot be from St. Athanasius. There is however no reason for connecting these letters with the Meletian archive, though they were acquired at the same time as **1914**, **1917** (left half), **1920**. The Paphnutius letters were definitely stated to have been found together; the Meletian ones belonged to a miscellaneous collection from various places. It is conceivable that single pieces might become separated from the collection, but in this case there is no reason for the assumption. The present letters are all addressed to Paphnutius, the Meletian letters (with the possible exception of **1921** and **1922**) to Apa Paièous. Among the persons mentioned in the correspondence of the latter are one or two who bear names occurring in the Paphnutius letters (they include two called Παπνούτιος, **1914**, 54, 61, &c.), but these names are too common to have any significance.[2] The two sets of letters differ completely in their atmosphere: the Meletian circle is semi-Coptic, the Greek of the letters being poor and the orthography illiterate; the Paphnutius letters reveal a cultivated circle, with no trace of Coptic affinities. Finally, there is nothing in the external appearance of the letters to suggest a common provenance.[3]

We may then dismiss any Meletian connexion as improbable. Paphnutius, so far as we can tell, was an orthodox Catholic, and the question of the authorship of **1929** can be discussed without reference to such considerations.

As a matter of fact, the interest of the letters does not depend upon the identity of the recipient but upon their character. Christian letters are by this time fairly numerous,[4] but the present collection has a special value because it proceeds from a single archive and because, addressed to the same person and he an anchorite of high reputation for sanctity, these letters illustrate vividly and at first hand the role which the ascetics played in fourth-century Egypt. As

[1] For P. Amh. 145 see above, p. 44. As there pointed out, there are no adequate grounds for connecting that letter with the present series.

[2] The only exception is Ἀρηοῦν (**1925**, 19), which might have some importance, but it stands alone, and the reading is very doubtful.

[3] No argument can be founded on the contents of the letters. Only one even of the Meletian letters and one contract refer to historical events, and the Paphnutius letters are not of a character to contain any allusions to such matters. Doctrinally there is nothing to indicate Meletian or Catholic sympathies in either set. Indeed the Meletians, though allied with the Arians and popularly often confused with them (see above, p. 41), were originally ultra-orthodox and probably never fully held the specifically Arian dogmas. Hence no help can be expected in this particular.

[4] See G. Ghedini, *Lettere cristiane*, where the Christian letters on papyrus of the third and fourth centuries are collected.

Valeria puts it (**1926**, 9–11) ' by ascetics and devotees revelations are manifested ' ; and so to ascetics, to Paphnutius among others, those in trouble, afflicted by sickness, by misfortune or the attacks of enemies, or by the consciousness of their own sinfulness, turned for help and intercession. Many of course resorted to the holy man in person ; those who could not do that appealed to him by letters, like the writers of the present series. And so these letters, long-winded as they are, often clothing a small modicum of meaning in a cloud of words, have a very considerable worth for the student of Christian history and of social life in the fourth century.

The letters were folded up when received, but it is certain that they had previously been unfolded by the finders ; hence, though the actual state at the moment of acquisition is some guide to the methods of folding adopted, it does not always afford secure evidence.

PAPYRUS **1923**.—Middle of the Fourth Century.

Inv. No. 2491. 28·2 × 10 cm.

Acquired in 1922. Pale papyrus, but with patches of darker brown. Worm-eaten in places. Written in a fair-sized, very clear, and fairly regular cursive hand, along the fibres, in rather pale ink. Folded from right to left, once from left to right, and then once from top to bottom.

As pointed out below (**1929**, intr.), an Ammonius, who was a bishop and a friend of St. Athanasius, is mentioned in the works of the latter, but the name was far too common for any identification to be even probable. There was, for example, an Alexandrian presbyter of the name (Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 73), also a Meletian bishop of Diospolis (*op. cit.*, 71), and finally a well-known anchorite, for whom see *Hist. Laus.*, xi (Butler, ii, pp. 32, 191). But the writer of **1923** is quite as likely to have been a man unknown to fame as any of the persons called Ammonius who occur in the records of the fourth century.

The object of the letter was partly to request the prayers of Paphnutius, the writer being perhaps in some difficulty, though this is not a necessary inference from ll. 13–15, and partly to report a meeting with a common friend. Grammar and orthography are comparatively good and indicate a man of some education.

Τῷ ἀγαπητῷ καὶ θεοσεβεσ-
τάτῳ καὶ θεοφιλῆ καὶ εὐλο-
γημένῳ πατρὶ Παπνουθ̣[ί]ῳ
Ἀμμώνιος ἐν κυρίῳ
θεῷ χαίρειν.
Οἶδα μὲν ἀεὶ ὅτι διὰ τῶν ἁγί-
ων σου εὐχῶν σωθήσομε
ἀπὸ παντὸς πιρατηρίου τοῦ
διαβόλου καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπι-
βουλίας ἀνθρώπων, καὶ

νῦν παρακαλῶ ὅπως
μνημονεύσῃς μου ἐν τῆς
ἁγίαις εὐχῆς σου· μετὰ γὰρ
τὸν θεὸν ἡ σωτηρία μου
εἶ σύ. Ἀ[π]ήντησεν πρ[ὸ]ς μὲ
ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν [? Δίδ]υμο[ς],
καὶ καθός μοι εἶπας περὶ
τοῦ πράγματος ἀπήντησα
πρὸς αὐτ[ό]ν. Ἐρρῶσθαί σ[ε] εὔχομε
πολλοῖς χρόνοις,
γλυκύτατε πάτερ·
ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης
διαφυλάξι σε ἐπὶ μή-
κιστον χρόνον.

Address on the verso:

☩ Τ[ῷ] κ[υ]ρίῳ ἀγαπητῷ πατρὶ Παπνο[υ]θίῳ

2. l. θεοφιλεῖ. 7. l. σωθήσομαι. 8. l. πειρατηρίου. 12. l. ταῖς. 13. l. εὐχαῖς. 17. l. καθώς. 19. l. εὔχομαι. 23. l. διαφυλάξῃ.

'To the beloved and most pious and dear to God and blessed father Papnuthius, Ammonius greeting in the Lord God. I always know that by your holy prayers I shall be saved from every temptation of the Devil and from every contrivance of men, and now I beg you to remember me in your holy prayers; for after God you are my salvation. Our brother Didymus came to see me, and I met him according to your instructions in the matter. I pray for your health for many years, most sweet father; may the God of peace preserve you for a great length of time.' (Addressed) 'To my lord the beloved father Papnuthius.'

2. For θεοφιλ⟨εῖ⟩ cf. **1927**, 2; for εὐλογημένῳ P. Amh. ii, 145 (= Ghedini 41), 1.

6. οἶδα μέν: certainly to be divided so rather than οἴδαμεν: the μέν is answered by καὶ νῦν in l. 10 f.

8. πιρατηρίου: the sense 'temptation' is perhaps new.

16. [Δίδ]υμο[ς]: the ο looks rather like ε, so that [Σ]υμέ[ων] was at first read, but the space is large for σ and small for ων, and ο is quite possible. Several people of the name Didymus are known at this period. The most eminent was the head of the catechetical school of Alexandria, for whom see, e.g., W. Smith and H. Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.*, *s.v.*

18. ἀπήντησα: the word regularly means '*go* to meet', and so comes to mean little more than 'go' (cf., e.g., **1913**, 6); it has also frequently the sense of 'appear', especially in a court of law. Since, however, the writer has just said that Symeon *came* to meet (or met) him there is no point in saying that he *went* to meet (or met) Symeon; moreover περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, though it no doubt actually goes with εἶπας, must have reference to the ἀπάντησις. Hence 'answer' seems the correct sense; or possibly nothing more than 'negotiate with'. 'Met' reproduces the ambiguity of the Greek.

19 ff. This subscription is almost certainly in the same hand as the letter, which is therefore holograph.

25. It is not usual at this period to begin an address with a cross or chrism (the earliest instance in Ghedini is no. 43, 4th–5th cent.); but the first visible stroke can

hardly be τ. After Παπνουθίῳ are traces of ink, which extend above this line and probably formed an ornamental figure marking the place where the string or fibres passed round the folded letter. The top portion on the right looks like the chrism (☧). On the extreme right are further traces of ink, and π(αρά) could be read, but there is not room for Ἀμμωνίου, and probably these traces are part of another diagram corresponding to the first; cf. **1918**, 21–2, n.

Παπνο[υ]θίῳ: perhaps παπνυθιω was actually written.

PAPYRUS **1924**.—Middle of the Fourth Century.

Inv. No. 2492. 28·5 × 12 cm.

Acquired in 1922. Reddish brown papyrus. Somewhat worm-eaten in the folds. At the foot of the letter 10·5 cm. of blank papyrus. Written in a medium-sized well-formed upright cursive hand of official type, along the fibres, in black ink; the subscription in a rapid sloping cursive, paler ink. Folded from right to left and then once from top to bottom. Facsimile: Plate IV.

For the possible identity of the writer of this letter see above, p. 100. The letter, written by a secretary, is brief and businesslike, and freer than usual from otiose verbiage. The structure of the sentences shows some sense of style. It is therefore likely that the writer was a man of education and standing, and the proposed identification with the known *praeses* of Augustamnica is fairly probable.

Τῷ ἀγαπητῷ πατρὶ ἅπα Παπνουθίῳ
Αὐσόνιος.
Μεμνημένος τῶν ἐντολῶν τῆς σῆς
θεοσεβίας μετεπεμψάμην Ὧρον τὸν
ἀπὸ Φιλονίκου καὶ ὑπέμνησα αὐτόν,
Γάλλον δὲ ἠξίωσα ἐν ἅπασι ὑπομνῆσαί με
ἵν' ἐν τοῖς [δυ]νατοῖς τὴν παρ' ἐμοῦ σπουδὴν
ἐνδείξω· [ἵ]να δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτ[ο]υ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων
κελεύσῃς παρακαλῶ τὰ μεγάλα. Μέμνησο δέ
μου ἐν τ[αῖ]ς ἁγίαις σου εὐχαῖς. (2nd hand) Ἐρρωμένον σε
καὶ εὐχόμενον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
ὁ θεὸς διαφυλάξῃ, ἀγαπητὲ πάτερ.

Address on verso:

(1st hand) Τῷ ἀγαπητῷ πατρὶ ἅπα Παπνουθ(ίῳ)
Αὐσόνιος.

4. l. θεοσεβείας. 5. ὑπεμνησα. 6. ὑπομνησαι. 7. ὑν.

'To the beloved father Apa Papnuthius, Ausonius. Remembering the injunctions of your piety I sent for Horus of Philonicou and instructed him, and Gallus I requested to give me his instructions in all things, that so far as possible I may show my zeal. I beg you earnestly to give me your orders in this and in all things. Remember me in your holy prayers.' (Signed) 'May God preserve you in health and praying on our behalf, beloved father.' (Addressed) 'To the beloved father Apa Papnuthius, Ausonius.'

5. *Φιλονίκου*: the name occurs in the Hermopolite nome, but only once (P. Ryl. ii, 206, 37), whereas a village of the name in the Heracleopolite nome (Coite toparchy) is mentioned not infrequently, e.g. SB. 2246; P. Hib., p. 8; *Stud. Pal.*, xx, 32, 8; 52, 15; 117, 5; Oxy. vi, 965; &c. In P. Petrie iii, 99, 10, 17, 28, where no nome is mentioned, the reference may probably be to this Heracleopolite village rather than to one, otherwise unknown, in the Arsinoite nome, as Grenfell and Hunt point out (P. Tebt. ii, p. 407). [*Φιλ*]*ονεικίου* in *Stud. Pal.*, xx, 7, 12 (Arsinoite nome) is not very strong evidence on the other side, as the ending is different and the first three letters are supplied by the editor. Our *Φιλονίκου* is perhaps most likely to be that in the Heracleopolite nome, but the fact does not greatly help to determine the provenance of the Papnuthius correspondence.

ὑπέμνησα: the context shows that *ὑπομνῆσαί με* in l. 6 is used in the sense 'tell me of any service I can do him', and a somewhat similar sense is probable here. 'Instruct' is perhaps as good a rendering as any.

Papyrus 1925.—Middle of the Fourth Century.

Inv. No. 2493. 29·2 × 18·5 cm.

Acquired in 1922. Papyrus mostly lightish brown, but stained to a reddish colour in the middle of the recto and on the right of the verso. The left half (recto) is very fragmentary; both halves worm-eaten in places. Written in a fairly large, upright, regular, rather square uncial hand, along the fibres, in black ink of a greyish tinge; the subscription in a smaller, cramped, sloping, and very cursive hand. Folded from right to left and then once from top to bottom.

The reading of the name (apparently hitherto unrecorded) in l. 2 is not certain but the characters look most like Pianius. The letter was written by an amanuensis, who wrote a good, if rather stiff and formal, hand, but he was careless, and given to omissions or unnecessary insertions of letters. Mutilation makes portions of the letter obscure, but it contained little but greetings and a request for Paphnutius's prayers; the writer was evidently in some trouble.

Τῷ ποθινοτ[άτῳ ἐ]πισ̣τ̣ήμης ὑπερβάλλοντι
ἄπα Παπνο[υτίῳ] Πι̣άνιος ἐν κ(υρίῳ) θ(ε)ῷ̣ χαίρειν.
Εὐκαιρηθεὶς τοῦ [συ]ντε̣[ί]ν⟨ον⟩τος πρὸς τὴν θεοσέ-
βειάν σου ἀνα[γκαῖ]ο̣ν ἡ[γ]ησάμην προσαγο-
ρεῦσαι τὴν εὐλά[βειά]ν σο[υ] δ̣ιὰ γραμμάτων, εὐ-
χόμενος τῷ̣ X[(ριστ)ῷ̣ κα]ὶ αὐ̣τ̣α̣ῖς ὄψεσ{εσ}ίν̣ σε πε-
ριπτύξασθαί {σε} κ[α]ταξ̣[ι]ωθῆναί με· ἔ̣τ̣ι̣ γὰρ τῷ̣
πνεύματί σε εστ̣[.]ε̣ι̣π̣[.], καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ προσ-
αγ[. . .] . . . [. . .] . [. . .]σκῳ παρακαλῶ δὲ τὴν
ἁγ[ιότητά σου ἵνα κ]ατ[α]ξ̣ιώσῃς εὔξασθαι
[ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μου ἵνα ὁ] θ(ε)ὸ̣ς ῥύσηταί με ἐκ
[τῶν . . . . . καὶ ἐκ τῶν] ἀναγκ̣ῶν τῶν ἐπι-
κιμέ̣[νων μοι. Πρόσ]ε̣ι̣π̣[ε] τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς
παρ' ἡ[μῶν? . . . . . .]ων πρόσειπε παρ' ἐμ(ο)ῦ
ὑπὲρ [. . . . . .] τ̣ο̣[ῦ] θρεπτοῦ Ἀθανασί-
ου Εὐ[. . . . . .]ωσον· καὶ αὐτὸς γὰρ τῶ̣(ν)
ἀγαπώντων τ̣[ὴν] θεο[σ]έβειάν σου τυγχάνι.
Ἐγὼ Ἀθανάσιο̣[ν προ]σ̣α̣γ[ο]ρ̣εύω τὸν κύριόν

μου καὶ Εὐσέβ[ι]ο[ν κ]αὶ Ἁρηοῦν καὶ πάντας
τοὺς ἀδ[ελφοὺς τοὺς ὄντας ?] παρὰ τῇ ἁγιότητί
σου. Προσσερ . . . [. . . . . .] . ὑμᾶς καὶ [ὁ] ἀδελφὸς
αὐτοῦ Δωρόθεος. (2nd hand) Ἔρρῶσθαί [σ]ε ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ πολλοῖς εὔχομαι
χρόνοις, κύριέ μου ποθινότατε.

Address on the verso :

(1st hand) Τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ [μ]ου [*blank ?* Πα]πνουτίῳ ἀναχωρητῇ
μ]ονῆς μονα[χῶ]ν.

1. l. ποθεινοτάτῳ. ἐ]πιστήμης: Milne. 2. κω̄ θω̄. 3. A letter has been inserted above the ο of συντειντος; see note. 6. χ[ω. 11. θος. 13 f. l. ἐπικειμένων. 16. τῶ. 17. l. τυγχάνει. 23. l. ποθείνοτατε. 25. l. μονῆς (?); see note.

'To the most desired, excellent in knowledge Apa Papnutius, Pianius (?) greeting in the Lord God. Finding opportunity by the man who is setting out to your piety, I deemed it necessary to salute your discretion in a letter, praying to Christ that I may be found worthy to embrace you also with my very eyes; for even now in spirit [I can salute you], but every day I . . . and entreat your holiness to vouchsafe to pray for my sins, that God may deliver me from . . . and from the difficulties which beset me. Greet the brethren from us . . . greet from me . . . on behalf of . . . the slave of Athanasius Eu . . .; for he too is of them that love your piety. I salute Athanasius my lord and Eusebius and Harêous (?) and all the brethren who are with your holiness. . . . and his brother Dorotheus [salute] you.' (Signed) 'I pray for your health in the Lord many years, my most desired lord.' (Addressed) 'To my beloved brother Papnutius, anchorite . . . monastery (?) of monks.'

1. ἐ]πιστήμης: the reading seems likely, though ἐπιστήμης is hardly the word we should expect. Each letter is perfectly possible, and the space suits, except that it is somewhat ample for τη. The use of the genitive with ὑπερβάλλω is curious, but can hardly be escaped, as ης is quite certain.

2. Πι̣άνιος: this is what the traces suggest, but the name does not seem to occur elsewhere, and though π is probable the two following letters are too imperfect for any confident reading.

3. [συ]ντε[ί]ν⟨ον⟩τος: above the ο is a letter (or letters), apparently in a different hand. It does not seem to be the missing ον, wrongly inserted after τ. That συντείνοντος was intended can hardly be doubted.

7 ff. ἔτι κτλ.: the sense required is, as Prof. Hunt points out, something like 'I can see you in the spirit, but I want to greet you (or talk with you) in person' (cf. **1926**, 17–19). but it is difficult to get this. ἐστ[ι] εἰδ[ῖν] (Hunt) cannot be read; but an apparent trace of ink after π, which might be the top of ι, suggests that ἐστ[ι] εἰπ[ῖν] (though there is scanty room for ιν) may have been written. In that case σε must be a mere slip of the pen for σοι, perhaps due to the following ε. καθ' ἑκάστην is probably 'daily' (understanding ἡμέραν), as Hunt suggests, but προσαγορεῦσαι cannot be reconciled with the traces after the first lacuna; an apparent line over the last two letters there suggests a *nomen sacrum*, preferably θ(ε)ῷ. ἔτι is not very satisfactory; ἐπί would be an easier reading.

11. θ(ε)ός: doubtful, as θ̄ς not θ̄ος would be expected, and there is no trace of the usual line marking contraction, but this word seems to be required by the context. The supplement in l. 12 and ἀναγκῶν are due to Prof. Hunt.

13. πρόσ]ειμ[ε]: the traces suit this, but it is doubtful in view of the occurrence of the word in l. 14.

14. There is a line through εμυ, perhaps accidental but possibly to delete it. In the

latter case we might read (e. g.) παρ' Ὑπερ[εχίου τὸν υἱὸν] τ̣ο̣[ῦ] κτλ. Εὐ[σέβιον (cf. l. 19). This is rather supported by the emphatic ἐγώ in l. 18, but]ωσον is then difficult to fit in.

15. θρεπτοῦ: presumably a slave, and his name may be the Ευ- of l. 16; but it may also have occurred in this line (or υπερ may be the beginning of a name; cf. previous note) and ευ- be either a second name or a verb. The Athanasius meant may be the writer of **1929**.

19. κ]αὶ Ἀ̣ρ̣ηοῦν: αια very doubtful, and the space is perhaps rather large for νκ only; but the ο is on a piece of papyrus depending from a twisted fibre, so that the space is smaller than it looks, and αια are perfectly possible readings. For the possible significance of this name see p. 102[2].

21. What seems required is προσαγορεύει (followed by a name) ὑμᾶς, but προσαγορεύει is quite impossible. προσσφ could perhaps be read but σερ is likelier. For υμας it is possible to read υμος, but Δ]ιδυμος is apparently out of the question; the traces before υ suggest ε (δέ?), less probably ε]ἰς. If δέ be read a name can hardly have preceded, and the reference of αὐτοῦ is obscure. Has a name been accidentally omitted?

24. The traces read as ο̣υ̣ of [μ]ο̣υ̣ may really be part of the conventional flourishes filling the space between the two halves of the address. There may have been no space (though that is usual), since in l. 2 ἄπα occurs.

25. μ]ο̣νῖς: cf. **1913**, 2. The reading is easily reconcilable with the traces, and the chief objection to it is the misspelling it involves, for though the scribe was careless his orthography was fairly good. Πι]άνις could also be read, but μοναχός is impossible after it. χ]ωρὶς μοναχ[ῶ]ν is palaeographically unlikely.

PAPYRUS **1926**.—Middle of the Fourth Century.

Inv. No. 2494. 27 × 13 cm.

Acquired in 1922. Dark papyrus of reddish colour, but with patches of light brown in the lower half. Worm-eaten in many places. In a clear but rather awkward and inelegant cursive hand, with very few ligatures, along the fibres, in black ink. Folded inwards from each side, but chiefly from the left and once each from top and bottom.

The orthography and grammar of this letter are the poorest of the whole collection, but it is from a woman, and since there is no change of hand in the final greeting was probably written by the sender herself. Among women in general the standard of education in Egypt was much lower than among men; hence we cannot argue from the comparative illiteracy of this letter that Valeria belonged to a class of society inferior to that of the other writers, and indeed it seems likely that she was a woman of some position in the world; cf. l. 25 f. Intrinsically the letter is perhaps the most interesting in the collection, for though its object also is merely to ask for Paphnutius's prayers Valeria goes more into detail than the others, and her very inexpertness as a letter-writer gives her letter a personal touch which is wanting in theirs.

Τῷ τιμιοτάτῳ καὶ χρηστοφόρῳ
καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς κεκοσμημένῳ Ἄππα Πα-
φνούθις.
Οὐαλερία ἐν Χριστῷ χέρειν.
Ἀξιῶ καὶ παρακαλῶ σε, τιμιώτατε πα-
τήρ, εἵνα . . ι . σφηκιν ἐτήσῃς μοι
παρὰ τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ εἴασιν λάβω·
οὕτως π[ι]στεύω διὰ τῶν σῶν εὐχῶν
εἴασιν λαμβάνω, τῶν γὰρ ἀσκουν-

τῶν καὶ θρησκευόντων ἀποκαλύν-
ματα δικνέοντε. Μεγάλῳ γὰρ
νόσῳ περίκιμε δυσπνήας δινῆς.
Οὕτως γὰρ πεπίστευκα καὶ πιστεύω
ὅτι ἐὰν εὔξῃ ἐπάνω μου εἴασιν
λαμβάνω. Δέομε τῷ θεῷ δέομε
κέ σοι μνήσθητί μου ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου
προσευχῇ. Εἰ κὲ ἐν σώματι οὐκ ἶκα
παρὰ τοὺς πόδας σ[ο]υ ἐν πνεύματι
εἶκα πρὸς τοὺς πό[δ]ας σου. Προσα-
γ[ορε]ύω τὰ[ς θυγατ]έρα[ς] μου, καὶ
μνήσθητι αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου
προσευχῇ, Βασσιανῆς καὶ Θεοκλίας.
Ἄσπα[ζ]ετέ σε πολλὰ καὶ ὁ σύνβι-
ός μο[υ], καὶ εὔχ[ου] ἐπάνω αὐτῷ.
Ἄσπ[άζ]ετέ σε δὲ καὶ ὅλος ὁ οἰκός
μου. [ ] Ἐρ⟨ρ⟩ῶσθέ σε εὔχομε,
[τ]ιμιώτατε πατήρ.

Address on the verso :

Τῷ τιμιοτάτῳ πατρὶ Ἄππα Πα / / φνουτ[ίῳ] παρὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς
Οὐαλερίας.

1. l. τιμιωτάτῳ (so l. 28), χριστοφόρῳ. 2 f. l. Παφνουθίῳ. 4. ε̄ν̄. l. χαίρειν. 5 f. l. πάτερ; so too in l. 27. 6. l. ἵνα, αἰτήσῃς (see note). 7. l. ἴασιν; so too in ll. 9, 14. 8. π written above the π of πιστευω; see note. 9. υ of ασκουντων corr. or rewritten. 10 f. l. ἀποκαλύμματα δεικνύονται; απο corr. 11. l. μεγάλῃ. 12. l. περίκειμαι δυσπνοίας δεινῆς. 15. l. δέομαι, δεῖς. 16. l. καί; so too in l. 17. 17. l. ἦκα; so too in l. 19. 23. l. ἀσπάζεται; so too in l. 25. 24. l. αὐτοῦ. 26. l. ἐρρῶσθαι, εὔχομαι.

'To the most valued and Christ-bearing and adorned with every virtue Appa Paphnutius, Valeria greeting in Christ. I beg and entreat you, most valued father, to ask for me [help ?] from Christ and that I may obtain healing; thus I trust by your prayers to obtain healing, for by ascetics and devotees revelations are manifested. For I am afflicted with a great disease in the shape of a grievous shortness of breath. For thus I have trusted and yet trust that if you pray on my behalf I shall obtain healing. I pray to God, I pray also to you, remember me in your holy supplication. Even though in body I have not come to your feet, yet in spirit I have come to your feet. I salute my daughters, and do you remember them in your holy supplication, I mean Bassiana and Theoclia. My husband too greets you many times, and do you pray on his behalf. My whole household too greet you. I pray for your health, most valued father.' (Addressed) 'To the most valued father Appa Paphnutius from his daughter Valeria.'

1. χρηστοφόρῳ: cf. Deissmann, *Sept.-Pap.* 6 (= Ghedini 25), 30, where χρηστοφόρ[ῳ] is to be read.

6. εἶνα . . ι . σφηκιν: the σ is all but certain, the φ inferred from the top and bottom of a long upstroke above and below a hole in the papyrus. Prof. Hunt suggests εἶνα ἐπὶ σαὶ

ἥκω, 'pray that I may come to you and be healed', which is possible in this writer, but can hardly be reconciled with the traces, though σ[α]ι could easily be read. The letter following α has a loop, whereas ε in this hand almost always ends in a straight stroke projecting upwards to the right, and never has so pronounced a loop as this; β could be read. Moreover, the following letter does not look in the least like π.

8. π[ι]στεύω: above the π and immediately before the lacuna is another π, probably in the same hand. Perhaps the intention was to alter to πεπίστευκα as in l. 13, but this has not been done.

20. Very doubtful. The reading is suggested by the traces, but the ρ has a short downstroke (not, however, shorter than in προσευχῇ, l. 22) and might be ν; and a more serious objection is that the daughters ought to be with Valeria, not with Paphnutius (θυγάτηρ is hardly likely to be used in a spiritual or conventional sense). But προσαγορεύουσί σε does not seem a possible reading. θυγατ]έρα[s] is the most dubious part of the line. Of the dotted letters only the bottoms remain.

28. Παφνουτ[ίῳ]: such seems to be the spelling, though on the recto the name is given as Παφνούθις.

PAPYRUS 1927.—Middle of the Fourth Century.

Inv. No. 2495. 24 × 32 cm.

Acquired in 1922. Papyrus of medium brown colour. Worm-eaten in places; the whole of the lower half of col. 1 has disappeared except two small fragments. Written in a fair-sized sloping uncial hand of 'ecclesiastical' type, along the fibres, in brown ink; the hand grows smaller and more cramped towards the end. Folded inwards from both sides, mainly from the left.

Both in script and in style this letter is the most ambitious of the collection, but as a stylist the writer shows more ambition than success, and though the letter was longer than any of the others and a good deal of it is preserved, it is singularly empty of content. It is mostly occupied with windy compliments, and it is not at once apparent what its particular purpose was; apparently nothing further than to ask the recipient whether the writer is to 'come up' (i. e. he lived lower down the Nile? or does he refer to going up into the desert, i. e. ὄρος?) to see him. He even forgets to insert his correspondent's name, but there is no reason to doubt that this letter also was addressed to Paphnutius. The writer calls himself 'Dorotheus the Oxyrhynchite', which suggests, but does not necessarily imply, that he lived at Oxyrhynchus. Hence, if ἀνέλθωμεν in l. 58 does refer to going up the Nile Paphnutius lived to the south of that city. The name of the writer is less common than some of those which occur in this series, but it would be very hazardous to identify him with any known person so called, e. g. with the Δωροθέῳ τινὶ ἀσκητῇ Θηβαίῳ ἑξηκοστὸν ἄγοντι ἔτος ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ of *Hist. Laus.*, ii (Butler, ii, p. 16) or the Δωρόθεος ἐν ἄλλῳ σπηλαίῳ οἰκῶν πρεσβύτερος of *Hist. Laus.*, lviii (*op. cit.*, p. 151).

On the verso are remains of at least one column of writing in an apparently similar hand to that of the recto. The one certain column is headed by the number A. There are four figures (oblong parallelograms with a single stroke through each), probably serving to mark the place of the string, but there are no recognizable traces of any address.

Col. 1.]

Τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ καὶ
θε[ο]φιλ[ε]ῖ. Δωρόθεος ὁ Ὀξ[υ]ρυγχεί-
της ὁ ἄχριος δοῦλος προσαγορεύ-

ει σε ἐν πν(εύματ)ι καὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ Χ(ριστο)ῦ.
Πρὸ μὲν πάντων παρακαλῶ τὸ(ν)
θ(εὸ)ν καὶ π(ατέ)ρα τοῦ σωτῆρος Ἰη(σο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ
ὅπως καταξιώσῃ με τοῦ εὑρεῖ(ν)
χάριν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ δέξα-
σθέ σαι τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα·
[[ο]] ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ κἀγὼ μέλλω εὐθυ-
μῖσθαι ὅταν ὁ ἀγαθὸς δοῦλος δι-
ὰ γραμμάτω[ν] με προσδέξητα[ι]
καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐ[μ]οῦ εὐχὰς ἀναφέρει
προθύμως πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην
ἐν ἰλικρινεῖ διανοίᾳ. Πιστεύω
γὰρ [ὅ]τι . [. . . . .] . . . ν . . [. . . . .]
. . . . . .

Two fragments, certainly from this column:

(1)

Slight traces of 2 lines
] εὐφρασ[ία
ἐγκω]μιαζομ[
] εὐφρα[σία
]προ[

(2)

]νδ[.]αι . . [
] . ὠφελι[μ
]νιστ . [
]οπτα . . [
] γὰρ δικ . [
] . . ιλα[
] . . [

Col. 2.]

ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν εὐκλ[ε]εστάτην
[σ]ου π[ο]λιτίαν καὶ σε[μ]νοτάτην,
διότι τὴν τοῦ κ(όσ)μ(ο)υ ἀλαζονία(ν)
ἀπεκήρυ[ξ]ας καὶ `τὴν' τῶ[ν] κενοδόξω(ν)
μεγαλαυχίαν ἐβδέλυξας. Καὶ
ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐπενοῦμεν μᾶλλο(ν)
ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκοῇ ὅτι φρονίμως ἔδι-
ξας τὸ γεννεότατον ἆθλον,
ἐπιθυμοῦμεν δὲ μιμεῖσθαι
ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πολειτείᾳ τῇ σου
φιλοκἀγαθείᾳ, ὅτι ὡς ἱκα-
νὸς τάχα σοι ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ἐχάρισεν
τὸν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν εὑρεῖ(ν)
ἀντίπαλον καὶ θεραπευτι-
κὸν ἀποφα{σ}τικόν· "τὸν καὶ-

ρ[ὸ]ν̣" γὰρ "ἐξαγορά̣ζ[ο]ντες", κη-
ρύττει ὁ̣ τρισμακά̣ρι̣ος ἀπόστολ[ο]ς,
"ὅτι αἱ ἡμέραι πονηραί εἰσιν."
Ἐπίστ̣[ε]υ̣ων δὲ καὶ τὸν χαρα-
κτῆρά σου θεάσασθαι ἐὰν ἐπι-
[[ο̣]]τρέπει̣ ὁ κ(ύριο)ς, ἐπὶ ἐ̣φόδιοί ἐσμε(ν),
αἰδοῦμ[α]ι δὲ ἐλθεῖν μή ποτε
[. . . .] . [. .] . . ἡμᾶ̣ς καὶ ἐντράπωμε(ν).
[? Πάνυ] οὖν ἐπιστεύσαμεν ὅτι εἰ θέ-
[λημα θ](εο)ῦ ἐστὶν τοῦ ἡμᾶς σοι ἀπαντᾶ(ν)
[ἀγγελ]ε̣ῖ̣ς πρῶτον διὰ τοῦ φέρον-
[τός σοι] τ̣ὸ ἐπιστόλιον. Δὸς οὖν
[αὐτῷ τὴ]ν ἀγγελίαν ὅτι βούλει{ς} ἢ οὐ
[βούλει] ἀνέλθωμεν, μὴ ὥστε π̣[ο]ι-
[. . . . .]ε̣ν . [.] . . α̣ς ἴδιοι πληρῶ[μ]ε(ν)
[. . . . .]ω̣ν τὴν περὶ σοῦ ἀγάπ[η(ν)]
[. . . . . ? πε]ρὶ σέ̣, τιμιώτατε ἐν πν[(εύματ)ι],
[καὶ τοὺς σὺ]ν̣ σ̣ο̣[ὶ] ἀδελφοὺς̣ . [

2. ὁ. l. Ὀξυρυγχίτης. 3. ὁ. l. ἄχρειος. 4. $\overline{\pi\nu\iota}$, $\overline{\chi\upsilon}$. 5. τῶ. 6. $\overline{\theta\nu}$, $\overline{\pi\rho\alpha}$, $\overline{\iota\eta\upsilon}$ $\overline{\chi\upsilon}$. 7. ευρεῖ. ο of οπως added later, in the margin. 8 f. l. δέξασθαί σε. 10 f. l. εὐθυμεῖσθαι. 13. ὕπερ. 15. ἵλικρινει; l. εἰλ. 31. π̣[ο]λιτίαν: Hunt; l. -είαν. 32. $\overline{\kappa\mu\upsilon}$ αλαζονιᾶ; l. ἀλαζονείαν. 33. κενοδοξῶ. 35. l. ἐπαινοῦμεν. μαλλῶ. 36 f. l. ἔδειξας. 37. l. γενναιότατον. 38. l. μιμεῖσθαι. 39. l. πολιτείᾳ. Over the η of αυτη is a stroke, perhaps accidental or possibly intended to separate the word from πολειτεια. 40. l. φιλοκάγαθία, ἱκανῶς (MS. ϊκανος; see note). 41. $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$. 42. ο of first τον corr. from η. ευρεῖ. 44 f. καιρ[ὸ]ν, ἐξαγορά̣ζ[ο]ντες: Hunt. 48. l. ἐπίστευον. 50. $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, εσμε̄. l. ἐπεί. 52. ἡμᾶ̣ς: Hunt. ευτραπωμε̄. 54. $\overline{\theta}$]υ, απαντᾶ. βούλει: Hunt. 59. ἴδιοι πληρωμε̄. 60. Probably αγαπ[η̄]. 61. $\overline{\pi\nu}$[ι].

'To the most valued brother and beloved of God. Dorotheus of Oxyrhynchus the unprofitable servant salutes you in the Spirit and in the love of Christ. Before all things I entreat God, the Father of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to vouchsafe that I may find favour in his sight, that you may receive my letter; for therein I too shall have cause to rejoice, when the good servant welcomes me in a letter and zealously offers up his prayers on my behalf to our Master in sincerity of heart. For I trust that . . . but by reason of your most glorious and most revered way of life, since you renounced the boasting of the world and abhorred the arrogance of the vainglorious. We too then commend you the more because we hear that you prudently showed forth your most noble contest, and we desire to imitate in the same way of life your kindliness (?), because God in abundant measure, it seems, granted you favour to find a fitting and salutary renunciation accordant with the times. For "redeeming the time", proclaims the thrice-blessed apostle, "because the days are evil". I trusted to behold your features also if the Lord permits it, since we are on the way, but I fear to come lest haply [you chide ?] us and we be put to shame. We were very confident therefore that if it be God's will that we should meet you you will first inform us by him that brings you the

letter. Give him therefore the message whether you desire or not that we should come up, not so that . . . we fulfil . . . our love for you . . . concerning you, most valued in the Spirit, and the brethren who are with you.'

2. The omission of the recipient's name is perhaps accidental.

17 ff. That these two fragments belong to col. 1 is clear from the fact that the hand is fairly large and spread out, whereas in the lower part of col. 2, where alone the papyrus is imperfect, the writing is smaller and cramped. Moreover neither fragment could be fitted into the available space in col. 2.

34. *ἐβδέλυξας*: in the sense of 'abhor' the word should be middle, but the causal sense is inappropriate here, and the writer was rather ambitious than accomplished in his use of the Greek language.

36 f. The words *ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκοῇ* seem to show that Dorotheus was referring to some particular example of his correspondent's zeal rather than to his way of life in general.

40. *φιλοκἀγαθείᾳ*: apparently a new word, but cf. P. Oxy. i, 33 (= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 20), ii, 13, *ἀφιλοκαγαθία* (Hunt), which has been variously emended, but which, in view of the present passage, may be right. The word should mean something like 'kindliness', as rendered in the translation; but this is not very appropriate to the context, which rather requires a reference to Paphnutius's ascetic virtue, and it may be doubted whether Dorotheus was not rather thinking of 'love of the good'.

40 f. *ἱκανῶς*: *ο* and *ω* are not elsewhere confused in this letter, with the doubtful exception of l. 48 (see note), and it is conceivable that *ἱκανός*, agreeing with *θεός*, should be read, but this seems improbable. *ὡς ἱκανῶς* in the sense simply of 'in ample measure' is preferable. 'Perhaps', the usual sense of *τάχα*, is hardly appropriate here; probably the word is used merely to modify the force of *ὡς ἱκανῶς*. 'It seems', adopted in the translation, perhaps expresses the right shade of meaning. The rest of the sentence is very obscure and difficult. *τόν*, first written *τήν* and then apparently corrected, has no noun if we read *ἀποφα{σ}τικόν*; and if that adjective is used as a noun the article should be *τό*. *ἀποφαστικόν* is itself an unexpected word, apart from the fact that no such form is known; *ἀποφατικός* is the attested adjective. Several letters are dotted as doubtful but all are probable readings, and *ἀγοραστικόν* (Hunt), which is more suitable, can hardly be read, for the *φ*, though the ink has faded and in parts disappeared, seems certain; besides the impression of the letter on the papyrus there are clear traces of ink from the bottom and top of the upstroke and from both sides of the loop. *ἀποφα{σ}τικόν*, however, seems possible, if we suppose that the writer (who originally wrote *τήν*) intended *ἀπόφασιν*, but, changing his mind, added *τικον* to *αποφασ*, forgetting to delete the *σ*, and similarly, when he altered the *η* of *την* to *ο*, omitted to delete the *ν*. *τὸν καιρ̣[ὸ]ν̣ κτλ.* is then a loose quotation; some MSS. do in fact place *καιρόν* before *ἐξαγοραζόμενοι* in the passage quoted. To begin the quotation at *ὅτι* and the new sentence at *κηρύττει*, as the editor had done before the first part of l. 45 was read, makes hopeless difficulties, and is indeed impossible if *γάρ* (a likely reading) is accepted. It should be added that the *ι* of *ἀντίπαλον* has a thickening in the middle, which makes it look like *φ*; but *φ* has elsewhere a rather large loop, and even if we read *ἀντ⟨ι⟩φ* it is difficult to make a possible word out of the following characters.

44–7. *Eph.* v, 16.

48. *ἐπίστ[ε]υων*: the spelling is in general correct, and the space between *τ* and *υ* is very large for *ε*. It is possible to read *ἐπιστ[εύ]ουμεν* (*sic*), but on the whole the reading in the text is perhaps preferable.

49 f. *ἐπι[[ο]]ṛρέπει*: it is not certain that the *ο* has really been deleted, and the reading must therefore be regarded as doubtful; but the certain *ρεπ* and probable *τ* make it difficult to avoid it.

50. *ἐφόδιοι*: the word is apparently unknown (except in the substantival form *ἐφόδιον*, *viaticum*), but it is a likely enough formation and suits the context excellently; Dorotheus was on the way but hesitated to come actually to Paphnutius's cell without authorization. Palaeographically the reading is very probable, though the upper part of the *φ* has completely disappeared.

53. *πάνυ* is perhaps hardly enough, but the writing seems to be less compressed at the beginnings of lines. It no doubt gives the sense.

55. *[ἀγγελ]ε̣ῖ̣ς*: cf. l. 57.

PAPYRUS 1928.—Middle of the Fourth Century.

Inv. No. 2496. 27·7 × 26·5 cm.

Acquired in 1922. Papyrus stained dark brown on the left, a paler brown on the right. Much worm-eaten, and fragmentary. Written in a large bold cursive hand by a practised scribe, letters laterally compressed, along the fibres, in black ink; the subscription and postscript in a large sloping, more rapid cursive. Folded inwards, mainly from the right, and then once from top to bottom.

The main portion of this letter, which is a request for Paphnutius's prayers in sickness, was written by an amanuensis. It is a good deal mutilated but clearly contained nothing beyond the request for prayers. The most interesting portion is the postscript, added by the sender himself in his own hand. There is no reason to identify him with any Heraclides known to us, e. g. with the bishop banished by the Arians (Athan., *Hist. Ar.*, 72), the anchorite mentioned by Sozomen, iii, 14, or the Meletian bishop of Nikiou (Athan., *Apol. c. Ar.*, 71; cf. 64).

1 Τῷ παρὰ θεῷ [ἡγ]ᾳπημέ[ν]ῳ πατρὶ ἄπα Παπνουτίῳ
2 Ἡρακλείδης.
3 Ἀεὶ μὲν σὸς ὁ καιρὸς το[ῦ] εὔξασθ[α]ι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ
κρείττο[ν]ος
4 διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν σου βο[η]θείας δ[εό]μεθα· νῦν δὲ πλέον παρακαλῶ σ[ε τοῦτο]
5 καὶ εἰς ὄνομά μου καὶ πρὸς τὴν κ[τ]αλαβοῦ[σ]άν με νόσ[ο]ν [ἐ]πίγο[υσ]άν με
6 ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον κα . [. . . . .] . ρκ . . υ . [. . . . .]ς . [. . . . .]
δο[ῦναι (?). Οὐ γὰρ]
7 ἄλλως βοηθεῖσθαι πιστ[τ]ε[ύω
8 γᾳ[. .]ροις χρηστοφ[ό]ρ[ί]α[ς] ἕως ὑγείαν ἔχεις. (2nd hand) Ἐρρῶσθαί σ[ε]
9 ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ Χρηστῷ εὔχομαι ἐπὶ πολὺν
10 χρόνον εὐχόμενον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ συνε-
11 χῶς, πάτερ θεοσεβέστα{τα}τε.
12 Καὶ ὁ προφήτης βοᾷ "ἐν θλίψι ἐπεκαλεσάμην καὶ εἰσήκουσεν
13 μου". Νῦν ἀληθῶς θλῖψις ἐν ᾗ εἰμί, ὅπου οὔτε ἀδελφοῦ οὔτε
14 τινὸς ἄλλου βοηθῆσαι δύναται βοήθεια εἰ μὴ ⟨ἡ⟩ διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶ(ν)
15 Χρηστοῦ διὰ τῶν ὑμῶν εὐχῶν προσδοκομένη ἐλπίς.

Address on the verso:

(1st hand) Τῷ παρὰ θεῷ ἠγαπημένῳ πατρὶ ἄπα Παπνουτίῳ
Ἡρακλείδης.

3. κρειτ'τονος. 5. με νόσ'ο]ν: Hunt; see note. l. ἐπείγουσαν. 8. l. χριστοφορίας, ὑγίειαν. 9. κω̄. l. Χριστῷ. 12. l. θλίψει. 14. ημω̄. 15. l. Χριστοῦ, προσδοκωμένη.

'To the beloved father in the sight of God Apa Papnutius, Heraclides. Always you find time to pray on our behalf, and we ask the help which the Most

High gives through your prayers; but now yet the more do I entreat you to do this both in my name and with reference to the sickness which has fallen upon me and is oppressing me, and to give (?) the oil . . . for in [no] other way do I trust to be helped . . .' (Signed) 'I pray for your health in the Lord Christ for a long time, praying continually on my behalf, most pious father. The prophet also cries: "In affliction I called upon him and he heard me." Now of a truth it is affliction in which I am, where neither from a brother nor from any other can effectual help come save the hope which I expect by our Lord Christ through your prayers.' (Addressed) 'To the beloved father in the sight of God Apa Papnutius, Heraclides.'

4. *τοῦτο*: it is not certain that anything followed *σ⌈ε*, but there would be room for *τοῦτο*, for which (or an equivalent word) a place must be found somewhere, and if *ἐπίγουσάν με* is right in l. 5 it cannot be fitted in there.

5. *με νόσ⌈ο⌉ν*: *με* can well be read, though the trace taken as the first stroke of *μ* might be the last of the preceding *ν*. In that case a word beginning *ενο* would have to be read, and nothing likely suggests itself. *νόσον* is just what is wanted and is supported by *ἔλαιον* in l. 6, but it can be accepted only with some misgiving. The letter after *ο* looks like *ρ* (though the downstroke of *ρ* is not elsewhere looped round at the foot as this is) and the supposed *ν* is not much like any other *ν* in the letter. The following *ἐπίγουσάν με* is not very satisfactory, as *καταλαβοῦσάν με* seems sufficient, but the characters visible strongly suggest *πιγο* or *πιτο* or *πιγα* and *ἔπιτα* is not likely. The *α* is on a detached piece of papyrus, the position of which is quite conjectural.

8. All the readings of the first hand in this line are very doubtful except *χρηστυ*, *εως*, and *εχεις*. *φ* is a possible and indeed likely reading, but the upper part is lost, and *υ* could be read (for the spelling Χρηστοῦ cf. l. 15). If *φ* be read *χρηστοφ⌈ό⌉ρ⌈ε⌉* is expected (cf. **1926**, 1); but in that case it is difficult to account for the traces between *ρ* and *εως*, and *χριστοφορία* seems a likely enough formation from *χριστοφόρος*.

12. A combination of Ps. cxvii, 5, *ἐν θλίψει* (AT *ἐκ θλίψεως*) *ἐπεκαλεσάμην τὸν κύριον, καὶ ἐπήκουσέν μοι* (*μου* ℵ$^{c.a}$ART), and Jon. ii, 3, *ἐβόησα ἐν θλίψει μου πρὸς Κύριον τὸν θεόν μου, καὶ εἰσήκουσέν μου*. Or possibly Heraclides knew Ps. cxvii in a text into which *εἰσήκουσεν* had been introduced (perhaps from Jon. ii, 3 ?) in place of *ἐπήκουσεν*.

13. *νῦν κτλ.*: *ἐστί* is to be understood.

PAPYRUS **1929**.—Middle of the Fourth Century.

Inv. No. 2497. 28 × 31·8 cm.

Acquired in 1922. Reddish brown papyrus, but with lighter patches. Broken and worm-eaten, and in places much defaced by rubbing. Written in a rather large bold sloping cursive hand by a practised writer, along the fibres, in black ink. Folded inwards, mainly from the right, and then once from the top downwards. Facsimile (reduced): Plate V.

This letter, the most imperfect of the whole series, is also from one point of view the most interesting. It is from an Athanasius, and the question at once suggests itself whether this may perhaps be St. Athanasius himself. The idea may at first sight seem quite gratuitous, for the name Athanasius was common, but **1929** has features which give it some support. The hand is an easy, bold and rather handsome one, betraying a practised writer, but on the other hand it is hardly of an official type. It suggests rather a private person of education than a professional scribe. Mutilation makes the text in a considerable part

of the letter very conjectural, but so far as can be judged the style is very noticeably superior to the average of papyrus letters and even to that of the present series, itself obviously proceeding from a cultivated circle. Particular stress may be laid on the separation of noun and adjective in the concluding clause: ἐρρωμένον σε ἡ θεία διαφυλάξει⟨ε⟩ πρόνοια. This is an essentially literary device, so far removed from the usual style of papyrus letters that it at once arrests attention. Again the list of names in l. 17, placed side by side without a connecting καί, shows an effort after elegance of form. The unusual phrase ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτοῦ in l. 3 points in the same direction, and the sentence beginning Παρακαλῶ (l. 6) has an unmistakably literary flavour. It is true that this is largely restored and the readings are far from certain, but the visible remains seem to impose something similar in style. Yet, though the writer is consciously aiming at style he is entirely free from the nebulous bombast which characterizes half-educated writers of the Byzantine Age when they aim at literary form, and which can be seen, for example, in 1927. It seems clear that the writer is a man of education and with some literary sense. He writes too with respect indeed but in a tone of perfect equality; one would imagine him to be a person of authority, and he speaks of his household as if it were of some size.

The foregoing considerations cannot be strongly reinforced by the evidence of names, but there is one name which has some evidential value. Among the members of his household Athanasius mentions an Ἀντίοχος. Now among the extant letters of St. Athanasius is one (Migne, *P. G.*, xxvi, 1165) addressed Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς υἱοῖς καὶ συμπρεσβυτέροις. John and Antiochus were then at Jerusalem, though that apparently was not their ordinary residence,[1] and it would of course be absurd to found much on a mere coincidence of name. Nevertheless Antiochus, common enough earlier, seems to have been infrequent in Christian times,[2] and in Egypt one is prepared in the fourth century to find it at Alexandria rather than in the χώρα. The persons addressed in St. Athanasius's letter were clearly younger than himself, were apparently in regular correspondence with him, and seem to have been travelling about, so that Antiochus may quite well have been at some time a member of his household.

The other names do not help. Mention is made of the writer's mother, who, if the reading Διδύ]μης in l. 11 be rejected, may, from l. 17, have been called Didyma, though on the whole it is preferable, in view of l. 11, to make Διδύμη and ἡ μήτηρ two different persons; but unfortunately we do not know the name of either of St. Athanasius's parents. In his second letter to Lucifer (Migne, *P. G.*, xxvi, 1183 ff.), written about 359, which is extant only in a Latin version,

[1] Ἐχάρην δεξάμενος ὑμῶν καὶ νῦν ἐπιστολήν, ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐγράψατε.

[2] The only fourth-century papyrus instances given in Preisigke's *Namenbuch* are: P. Oxy. i, 102, 3 (A.D. 306); PSI. iii, 205, 1 (A.D. 317); *Stud. Pal.*, xx, 106, 13 (4th cent.). The first two are earlier than our letter, and in Oxy. 102 the name is no doubt that of a pagan, the man having been a magistrate of Alexandria. In *Apol. ad Const.*, 10, Athanasius cites as witnesses that he had prayed for Constantius, along with the Dux Felicissimus and others, the *agentes in rebus* Antiochus and Evagrius. Antiochus, Bishop of Ptolemais (died before A.D. 408), for whom see, e.g., W. Smith and H. Wace, *Dict. of Christian Biography*, *s.v.*, may also be reckoned to the fourth century. But the name was not common then, especially in ecclesiastical circles.

Athanasius complains that owing to his persecution by the Arians 'testis est autem Dominus, quia nec *parentes quos habeo* potui videre, ex quo persequuntur nos', and A. Robertson concludes from this that his parents were then alive (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, iv, p. xiv[1]; see, however, p. 562[6]); but the word *parentes* may of course mean merely 'relatives', and so proves nothing. Lauchert (p. 3) infers from the fact that his parents are not mentioned in connexion with his persecution by the Arians, whereas an aunt of his does occur (*Hist. Ar.*, 13), that they were then dead; but there is really no evidence on either side, and in any case we do not know the date of the present letter.

The other letters give no further decisive indication. The writer of **1925** mentions a slave of Athanasius and sends greetings to Ἀθανάσιον τὸν κύριόν μου, who was therefore at that time with Paphnutius. The Athanasius referred to may well be the writer of **1929**, but we cannot be certain of this, and the reference tells us little about him (except that he was in a position to keep slaves), since he was presumably, in view of **1929**, merely on a temporary visit to Paphnutius. Among the writers of the letters we meet some names familiar in the records of Athanasius's life; e. g., Heraclides and Ammonius occur among Athanasian bishops banished by the Arians, *Hist. Ar.*, 72, and cf. *Ep. ad Dracontium*, 7: μνημονεύεις Ἀμμωνίου, τοῦ μετὰ Σαραπίωνος ἀποδημήσαντος; but these names were too common for the coincidence to have any value.

The letter is too fragmentary for stylistic tests to be applied, but one or two points are deserving of mention. In the first place, the omission of the title ἐπίσκοπος is of no significance. If the MS. tradition of fourth-century letters can be trusted there was no uniformity of practice in this particular, and titles were inserted or omitted at the whim of the writer; thus Ursacius and Valens omit their titles in writing to Pope Julius (*Apol. c. Ar.*, 58; *Hist. Ar.*, 26), but insert them in their letter to Athanasius (*ibid.*). Even the title of the person addressed was often not inserted (e. g. Ἀθανασίῳ Ἰωβιανός, Migne, xxvi, 813; Ἐπικτήτῳ Ἀθανάσιος, *op. cit.*, 1049; &c.); and Athanasius in his letters usually omitted his title. The salutations are often omitted in the MSS., but some examples of them and of the final greetings may be quoted: Κυρίῳ υἱῷ καὶ ποθεινοτάτῳ συλλειτουργῷ Ῥουφινιανῷ Ἀθανάσιος ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν (Migne, xxvi, 1180); Ἀθανάσιος ἀββᾷ Ὡρσισίῳ κτλ., ἀγαπητοῖς καὶ ποθεινοτάτοις ἀδελφοῖς ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν . . . Προσαγορεύουσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἐμοί. Ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς ἐν κυρίῳ εὔχομαι, ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ποθεινότατοι ἀδελφοί (*tom. cit.*, 977–80); Ἐρρῶσθαί σε καὶ μνημονεύειν ἡμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ εὐχόμεθα, ἀγαπητὲ καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ποθεινότατε (*tom. cit.*, 1084); Τῷ ἀγ. καὶ ἀληθῶς ποθ. υἱῷ Μαξίμῳ φιλοσόφῳ Ἀθ. ἐν Κ. χ. . . . Προσαγορεύουσί σε πάντες οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν (*op. cit.*, 1085–9). The resemblances here to our letter are too slight and trivial to be of any value, and there is one noteworthy difference. In no extant letter does St. Athanasius use the phrase ἐν κυρίῳ θεῷ in the salutation, as does the writer of **1929**. But we have too few of the saint's letters to build very much on this. One further difference may be noted. In the writings of St. Athanasius, to judge by the printed text, we find the form Παφνούτιος, here Παπνουτίῳ. This however cannot be used as a serious argument; MSS. are not to be trusted on points of orthography, and an editor has to normalize spellings. Finally, the fact that the letter is holograph is no argument against the Athanasian authorship. Athana-

sius certainly employed amanuenses, but it does not therefore follow—indeed it is excessively improbable—that he never wrote a letter with his own hand, and the present letter, purely private and personal in character, is not of a kind for which he would be specially likely to use an amanuensis.

It will be seen that a definite decision is impossible. The most we can say is that there is at least a reasonable probability that we have in the present document a specimen of the hand of the great champion of orthodoxy, and the mere possibility gives to our letter an interest which, in its sadly mutilated state, it would not otherwise possess. The editor's debt to Prof. Hunt is particularly great in this letter.

1 [*Τ*]*ῷ* [*τι*]*μιω*[*τάτ*]*ῳ καὶ ἀ*[*γα*]*πητῷ* [*πατ*]*ρὶ Παπνουτίῳ*
2 [*Ἀθ*]*ανάσιος* [*ἐ*]*ν κ*(*υρί*)*ῳ* [*θ*(*ε*)]*ῷ χαίρειν.*
3 *Ὁ π*[*α*]*ντοκ*[*ράτωρ*] *θεὸς καὶ ὁ Χρι*[*στὸς*] *αὐτοῦ δοίη τὴν σὴν θεοσέβειαν*
4 *π*[*α*]*ραμένιν ἡ*[*μῖν*] *πολὺν* [*χ*]*ρό*[*νον*] *καὶ μεμνῆσ*[*θ*]*αι ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς*
5 *σαῖς προσε*[*υχαῖς*]· *τῆς γὰ*[*ρ*] *σῆς* [*ἀγι*]*ότητος το*[*ῦ*]*το διατελούσης*
6 *ἔσ*[*τα*]*ι ἡμῖ*[*ν ἀπ*]*αντα*[*χῆ ὑ*]*για*[*ίνι*]*ν. Παρακαλῶ οὖν πυκνο-*
7 [*τέ*]*ρως ἡμῶν μνήσθη*[*τι*]· *αἱ γὰρ* [*παρ'*] *ὑμῶν διδόμεναι εὐχαὶ ἀνα-*
8 [*λα*]*μβάνονται διὰ τ*[*ὴ*]*ν* [*ἀ*]*γ*[*ία*]*ν ἀγ*[*άπην σ*]*ου, καὶ ὡς ἐὰν α*[*ἰ*]*τήσησθαι ὑμεῖς*
9 *ἐν* [*τ*]*αῖ*[*ς ἁ*]*γίαις* [*σου*] *προ*[*σ*]*ευχ*[*αῖς ? εὖ ἕξει*] *τὸ ἡμ*[*έ*]*τ*[*ε*]*ρο*[*ν*]. *Χαριοῦμαι*
τῷ δικαίῳ
10 [*πισθεὶς*] *ὡς ἁπαντα*[*χῆ ποιεῖς ἡμ*]*ῶν μνήμ*[*ην*]· *καὶ γὰρ οἶδα ὅτι*
11 [*φιλεῖ*]*ς* [*ἡ*]*μᾶς. Μάλιστ*[*α δ' ἐστὶ φρο*]*ντίς μ*[*ι Διδύ*]*μης καὶ τῆς*
12 [*? μητ*]*ρός· ἡ γὰρ Διδύμη* [*. . . . . .*]*ον καὶ ἡ μή*[*τηρ*] *μου ἀνωμαλῖ*
13 *. . . . . Ἀγὼν οὖν* [*μέγιστος πε*]*ρὶ ἐμοῦ* [*ἐστὶ*] *π*[*ρο*]*σπάσχοντος*
14 *. . . . . α καὶ ἀτονώ*[*ματα ἔχοντος*]· *πιστε*[*ύω δ*]*ὲ εἰς τὸν ἁπάντων*
15 *σω*[*τῆ*]*ρ*[*α*]. *Διάγων δὲ* [*ἐν ταύταις τ*]*αῖς νόσ*[*οις ἠδ*]*όμεθα ὅτι καὶ διὰ*
16 *μερίμνης σοι γέγον*[*εν τὸν*] *καλὸν υἱὸν Ὡρίωνα ἀποστῖλαι*
17 [*πρ*]*ὸς ἡμᾶς. Θεοδόσιος,* [*. . . .*]*σθ . [.] ., Ἀντίοχος, Δι*[*δ*]*ύμη, ἡ μήτηρ,*
πάντες
18 *ο*[*ἱ τ*]*οῦ ἡμετέρου οἴκου π*[*ολλά*] *σε καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν καὶ προσαγορεύομεν,*
19 [*τιμι*]*ώτατε ἀγαπητὲ πά*[*τερ. Ἐρ*]*ρωμέν*[*ο*]*ν σε ἡ θεία διαφυλάξει*(*ε*)
πρόνοια ἐπὶ μή-
20 [*κισ*]*τον χ*[*ρό*]*νον ἀεὶ μειμνησκόμενον ἡμῶν,*
21 [*ἀγα*]*πητέ, τιμιώ*[*τ*]*ατε.*

Address on the verso:

22 *Τῷ τιμιω*[*τά*]*τῳ καὶ ἀγ*[*απητῷ πατ*]*ρὶ Πα*[*ν*]*ουτίῳ*
23 *Ἀθ*[*ανά*]*σιος ἐν κ*(*υρί*)*ῳ θ*(*ε*)*ῷ.*

2. $\overline{κω}$ [$\overline{θ}$]$\overline{ω}$; so too in l. 23. 4. l. παραμένειν. 6. ἔσ[α]ι . . . ὑ]για[ίνι]ν: Hunt; l. ὑγιαίνειν. 7 f. παρ': Hunt. ἀνα[λα]μβάνονται: Hunt. l. αἰτήσησθε. 9. εὖ ἕξει:

Hunt, *exempli gratia*; see note. 10–11. See note on l. 9. 12. l. *ἀνωμαλεῖ*. 14. *ἀτονώτ[ατα ἔχοντος]*: Hunt. 15. l. *διάγοντες. τ]αῖς νόσ[οις*: Hunt. 16. l. *ἀποστεῖλαι*. 18. *π[ολλά]*: Hunt. 20. l. *μιμνησκόμενον*.

'To the most valued and beloved father Papnutius, Athanasius greeting in the Lord God. May Almighty God and his Christ grant that your piety may long be spared to us and remember us in your prayers; for if your holiness continues so to do it will be our lot everywhere to be in good health. I therefore entreat you repeatedly, remember us; for the prayers which you offer are taken on high owing to your holy love, and according as you ask in your holy prayers so will our state prosper. I shall do you justice by believing that you everywhere make mention of us; for indeed I know that you love us. My care is chiefly for Didyma and my mother (?); for Didyma [is in sickness], and my mother is in bad health; so that there is very great anxiety concerning me, suffering [this ?] in addition and being in very weak health; yet I trust in the Saviour of all. Living in the midst of these sicknesses, we rejoice that it came also into your mind to send to us our good son Horion. Theodosius, . . ., Antiochus, Didyma, our mother, all they of our household, we both salute and address you many times, most valued, beloved father. May the divine Providence preserve you for a great length of time, ever remembering us, beloved, most valued.' (Addressed) 'To the most valued, beloved father Papnutius, Athanasius in the Lord God.'

1. *Παπνουτίῳ*: the *τ* is made rather peculiarly, the cross-stroke beginning low and almost touching the bottom of the downstroke, so that the whole looks like the lower half of *θ*. As the papyrus is slightly rubbed it might be thought from the facsimile that *θ* is the true reading, but a close examination makes it certain that *τ* is correct; cf. too the verso.

5. *σαῖς*: this suits the space better than *ἁγίαις*, but the traces are so very slight that it is impossible to decide with certainty between the two words.

7. *μνήσθη[τι]*: *μνησθῆ[ναι]* would be too much for the space. The use of the imperative is quite intelligible and not uncommon, e.g. Ghedini 25, 19 f.; **1926**, 15 f.

[παρ']: this suits the space better than *δι'*, which the editor had originally read.

8. *τ[ὴ]ν [ά]γ[ία]ν ἀγ[άπην σ]ου*: this gives a good sense and suits the visible letters, but the space available for *ηνα* is rather small; the supposed *ν* is a mere spot of ink, which looks like the top of the first upstroke. *τ[ὸ] ἅγ[ιο]ν* would suit the space better, but *αγ* is then rather intractable.

9. *πρ[σ]ευχ[αῖς*: there are difficulties in this reading, particularly in the case of *ε*, but the context and the visible letters almost impose it, and it can hardly be doubted that it is correct. Prof. Hunt's *εὖ ἕξει* probably gives the sense, but the space is somewhat scanty.

χαριοῦμαι κτλ.: the reconstruction and in part the reading of this passage (to *[? μητ]ρός*) is due to Prof. Hunt. That it is doubtful need hardly be emphasized; but at least it can be said that readings and restorations are all reconcilable with the remains.

11. *Διδύ]μης*: this reading (at first rejected by the editor on the evidence of l. 17, where Didyma seemed to be the mother's name, becomes very plausible if, with Prof. Hunt, we insert a comma after *Διδύμη* there. Didyma and *ἡ μήτηρ* are then different persons.

12. *[. . . . .]ον*: Prof. Hunt suggests (e.g.) *[ἔχει πυρετ]όν* or *κάματον* or some similar phrase, and this seems likely enough.

ἀνωμαλῆ: or *ἀνωμαλί[α]* (*-αν*). Some marks which might suggest a defaced *α* in l. 12 can hardly so be interpreted. *λί[α]ν* (Hunt) could be read without much difficulty at the beginning of l. 13, but this leaves some characters unaccounted for, and the *οὖν* probably rules out *κα[ὶ] ἀγών* as the beginning of the new sentence. *ἀνωμαλί[α] χρῆται* is not possible.

14. *τοῦτο* or *ταῦτα* is hardly sufficient at the beginning, nor are the traces specially favourable to it.

15. *δ[ιαγῶν κτλ.*: the reading *διάγων* is extremely probable, indeed almost certain (*διὰ τῶν* less likely); hence some such restoration as here adopted seems required. The com-

bination of a singular participle and a plural verb is an objection but not a fatal one, in an informal and perhaps hasty letter, even in the case of so correct a writer as this. The singular διάγων was probably due to the singular πιστεύω; then the writer (his thought perhaps passing from himself to his household generally) dropped into the plural.

16. καλόν: for the Christian use of the word see Moulton and Milligan, *s. v.*; Wilcken, *Chrest.* 127, intr.; and the remarks of Ghedini (p. 121) on the same letter.

17.]σθ.[.].: the letter after θ might be α, but the last letter can hardly be part of ς, so that [Μυ]σθᾶς cannot be read.

Δι[δ]ύμη, ἡ μήτηρ: see l. 11, n.

22–3. This address is very faint, but by the help of ll. 1–2 can be read with practical certainty. In the earlier part the characters are confused by the presence of some superfluous strokes, perhaps relics of an earlier text.

TABLE OF PAPYRI

IN ORDER OF INVENTORY NUMBERS

Inv.	Cat.	Inv.	Cat.
2248 verso	1912	2496	1928
2487	1914	2497	1929
2488	1920	2543	1913
2489	1917	2544	1915
2491	1923	2545	1916
2492	1924	2546	1918
2493	1925	2547	1919
2494	1926	2548	1922
2495	1927	2549	1921

INDICES

I. SUBJECT INDEX TO INTRODUCTIONS AND COMMENTARIES

Abinnaeus papyri, 100.
Achmîmic dialect, 94.
— group of Coptic papyri, 91.
Agrippa I at Alexandria, 16.
Agrippa II, influence of, 20.
Agrippina, character of, 20.
Alexander, Alabarch, 11^3.
Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria: relations with Meletius, 39–41.
— — with the Meletians, 55^1.
— death of, 40.
Ἀλεξανδρεύς, meaning of, 14, 16.
Alexandria, Augustus at, 35.
— Bishops of, powers of, 69.
— Camp at, 64.
— Christian dissensions at, 39.
— citizenship, 8, 34.
— gates of, 64.
— hostility of, to Roman Emperors, 11, 31.
— Imperial cult at, 35.
— Jews at, viii, 10–20.
— letter of Constantine to, 46.
— Meletian antipope at (?), 64, 65, 69.
— municipal magistracies at, 35–6.
— — term of, 8.
— *neocori* of Augustus at, 8.
— power of Alexandrian presbyters, 64.
— senate at, viii, 8–10.
— Synod of, date of, 67.
— supposed temple of Claudius at, 7.
— tribes at, 5, 33.
Ammonius, 103, 117.
ἀνδριάς, use of, to imply *human* honours, 32.
Antiochus, *agens in rebus*, 116^2.
Antiochus, Bishop of Ptolemais, 116^2.
Antiochus, correspondent of St. Athanasius, 116.
Anti-Semitism, viii, 10–11, 16–19, 20–21.
ἄπα, ἀββᾶ applied to Bishops, 68.
ἀπαντάω, sense of, 104.
Ἀφίγκιος, Ἀπφύγχιος, 98.
Apis, agent of St. Athanasius at court, 66.
ἀπλίκιτον, ἀπλικιτάριος, 68.
Apollonius, known persons of the name, 29.
ἀρχαί, term of, 35–6.
Archaph, John. *See* John Archaph.
Archelaus, 55, 57.
— and the Synod of Tyre, 66–7.
Archelaus, Bishop of Caschara, 67.
ἀρχιερεύς, in Imperial cult, 34.
— of Claudius, 7.
Arian party. *See* Eusebian party.
Arius denounced by Meletius, 39.
Arsenius, Bishop of Hypsele, 46, 48, 57, 66–7.
Ascetics, importance of, 102–3.
Asclepiades, M. Julius, philosopher, 29.
Asiut, Meletians at, 42^2.
Athanasius, St.: accession of, 40.
— accused of violence and oppression, 47.
— arbitrary proceedings against Arians and Meletians, 54^1, 55.
— as authority for Meletian schism, 40.
— character of, 57–8.
— election opposed by Meletians, 41.
— Eusebian-Meletian coalition against, 41.
— — attacks on, 46–8, 55–7.
— first exile of, 55, 70.
— date of his second exile, 54^2.
— interference with bread supply, 69–70.
— letter from (?), 115–20.
— letter of Constantius against, 63.
— parents of, 116–17.
— popularity of, in Egypt, 41.
— refuses to attend Synod of Caesarea, 47–8.
— regrets truce with Meletians, 40.
— rescued by Archelaus, 67.
— summoned to court, 55, 56.
— writings against the Arians, 66.
Athanasius, son of Capito, 55, 57, 67.
Athletic contests, Jews excluded from, 14 f.
Augusteum at Alexandria, 35.
Augustus and Alexandria, 35.
— and the Alexandrian senate, viii, 9–10.
— Claudius's attitude towards, 6, 22.
Ausonius, identity of, 100, 105.

Balbillus, Ti. Claudius, prefect, 29.
Barbillus, Ti. Claudius, identity of, 29.

Benjamin, Patriarch of Alexandria, refers to Meletians, 42.
Βῆς, 98.
Bread supply to Alexandrian clergy, 69.

Caesarea, Synod of, 45–8, 51–2, 56.
Caesareum at Alexandria, 35.
Callinicus, Bishop of Pelusium, 41.
καλός, Christian use of, 120.
Camalodunum, temple of Claudius at, 7.
Camp at Alexandria, 64.
Canopus, Imperial cult at, 35.
καταστάσεως γραμμάτιον, 45.
κέλλα as 'store-chamber', 64.
Chaeremon, philosopher, 29.
χαῖρε, χαίροις, use of, 84.
Chariots, dedication of, 6, 34.
Children, pledging of, 72–3.
'Church of the Martyrs', 39.
Citizenship, ephebia as step to, 34.
Claudian tribe at Alexandria, 5, 33.
Κλαυδιεῖον at Alexandria, 7^2.
Claudius: attitude to Anti-Semitic riots at Alexandria, 18 f., 21.
— — to honours and Imperial cult, 5–7, 31.
— — to policy of Augustus and Tiberius, 6, 22.
— celebration of his birthday, 32.
— character and policy of, 21–3.
— date of acceptance of title Pater Patriae, 29.
— insistence on use of Latin by Roman citizens, 4.
— letter of, concerning Jews at Alexandria, 3^2, 15 f.
— piety towards his family, 31.
Commentarienses, 63.
Communication, speed of, in Roman Empire, 18^1.
'Confessor', use of the title, 43.
Constantine and attacks on Athanasius, 46.
— and Egyptian troubles, 40.
— banishes Athanasius, 70.
— banishes John Archaph, 41.
— bequest to widows of Libya and Egypt, 70.
— commends John Archaph, 46.
— Meletian deputation to, 41.
— orders arrest of Macarius, 66.
— summons John Archaph to court, 67–8.
— summons Synod of Caesarea, 47, 48.
— summons Synod of Tyre, 47, 48, 51–2.
Constantine, Bishop of Asiut, 42.
Constantius, 63.
Coptic dialects, 93, 94, 97.
— influence on Greek style, 53–4.
— script: unusual form of ϱ, 97.
Cross (chrism), use of, 104.
Cynopolite (Upper) nome, 44.

Dalmatius, censitor, 46, 48.
Damian, Patriarch of Alexandria, 42.
Darb el-Gerza, finds of papyri at, 1.
'Delta' quarter at Alexandria, 10.
Dicaeus, father of Paiêous, 43.
Didymus, 104.
Dinner, fashionable hour of, 64.
διοικητής, 49.
Dionysius, C. Julius, and family of, 29–30.
Dionysius, president of Synod of Tyre, 67.
Dorotheus, 110.

Economic misery of Egyptian middle-class, 72.
ἐκτιθέναι as = *proponere*, 29.
ἡγεμών, use of, as *princeps*, 22^3, 35.
Ἕλλην as 'pagan', 66.
ἡμέραι Σεβασταί, 32.
Ephebia, 34.
Epiphanius, authority of, 38, 57^2.
Epistulae, publication of, 4.
ἐπίτροπος as = prefect, 33.
ἔθος, technical use of, 37.
Euergetes II, Jewish troubles under, 11.
Eusebian (Arian) party: alliance with Meletians, 41, 55, 67–8.
— attacks on Athanasius, 46–8.
Eusebius of Caesarea, 48.
Eusebius of Nicomedia, 41.
Evagrius, *agens in rebus*, 116^2.
ἐξαίφνης, late forms of, 63.

Felicissimus, Dux, 116^2.
Flaccus and the Jews at Alexandria, 16 f.
Folding of papyri: evidence for double folding, 86, 88.

Galerius, edict of toleration by, 39.
Gentile names, omission of, 30.
Germanicus, popularity of, at Alexandria, 31.
γερουσία of Jews, at Alexandria, 12^4.
γεύομαι as = 'dine', 64.
Grammar: Accidence: Nouns and adjectives: accusative in *-αν* in third declension, 54.
— — — confusion of 1st and 2nd with 3rd decl. forms in adjectives, 80.
— — Verbs: confusion of deponent and active forms, 79.
— — — deponent forms of εἰμί, 91.
— — — *o* in δύναμαι (δύνονται), 54.
— — — *α* in second aorist, 54.
— — — ἔδωσα as aor. of δίδωμι, 85–6.
— — — retention of ζ in aorist of verbs in -ίζω, 80.
— — — confusion of perfect and aorist, 54, 64.
— Prepositions: use of prepositions, 84.
— — διά used for ὑπέρ and περί, 84.
— — περί used for ὑπέρ, 84, 86.

Grammar: Syntax, &c.: paratactical constructions, 79, 86.
— — participles used absolutely, 54.
— — gen. absolute for subject of sentence, 54.
— — τοῦ with infin. instead of subordinate clause, 54.
— — ethical dative, 79.
— — future used for subjunctive, 85, 86.
— — χρείαν ἔχω governing acc., 88.
— — definite article for rel. pronoun, 54, 63, 88.
— — omission of article, 37.
— — confusion of prepositions of motion and rest, 54, 64.
Greek, use of, in Imperial letters, 3–4.
Groves, sacred, 6, 33.
Gymnasiarch, position of, in *cursus honorum*, 20[2].
— term of office, 36.

ϩa- (verbal prefix), 97.
Hathor, Meletian settlement at, 43–4.
Heracleopolis, Meletians at, 42.
Heraclides, 114, 117.
Heraclius, *commentariensis*, 63.
Heraiscus, of Alexandria, 55, 56, 63–4, 69.

Imperial cult, 5–8, 33, 34.
Index to Athanasius's Paschal Letters, 40.
Intercessory prayers, 81.
Interest, high rate of, 80.
Isaac, Bishop of Letopolis, 55–7, 63.
Ischyras, schismatic priest, 46, 63.
'Isidorus *Acta*', viii, 19 f.

Jews at Alexandria, viii, 10–20.
— in Egypt, number of, 11[1].
— wealth of, 11.
ϫιαπι, 71.
John, correspondent of St. Athanasius, 116.
John Archaph, 45, 55, 67–8, 88–9.
— apologizes to Constantine, 46.
— appointment of, 40.
— at Antioch, 57.
— banishment of, 41.
— leads deputation to Constantine, 41.
Josephus's evidence as to Jews and Alexandrian citizenship, 14.
Julius Caesar and Jews of Alexandria, 14.

κλογϫ, 71.

Labla, near Arsinoe, Meletians at, 42.
Latinisms in Greek, 3–4.
λεβίτων, 93.
Libyae nomos, 34.

Macarius, agent of St. Athanasius at court, 66.
Macarius, presbyter of St. Athanasius, 46, 55, 57, 66, 68.
Maccabees, iii, date of, 12[2].
'Macedonians' at Alexandria, 13.
Marcellinus, Pope, accused of pagan sacrifice, 38[2].
'Martyrs', Church of the, 39.
Matthew the Poor, Patriarch, 42.
Maximinus, persecution by, 39.
Meletians: history of the schism, 38–43.
— alliance with Eusebian party, 55, 67–8.
— attack Athanasius, 46–8.
— persecuted by Athanasius, 55–7.
— set up a rival bishop to Athanasius (?), 64, 65, 69.
— settlement at Hathor, 43–5.
— mutual charity, 72.
— orthodoxy of, 102.
Meletius, 39–40.
— 'brief' of, 63.
— deposition of, 38.
Memphis, Meletians near, 44.
Messalina, as Demeter, 32, 37.
— golden statue of (?), 6.
Michael I, Patriarch of Alexandria, 42–3.
μονάριος, 65.
Monasticism, evidence on, 48.
μονή, meanings of, 64, 65.
Monks, life of, 44.
Moon, Gate of the, 64.
Mortuary rolls, ancient analogy of, 81.
Municipal magistracies, term of, 35–6.

Neocori in Imperial cult, 35.
Nicaea, Council of, 39, 40.
Nicopolis, 64.
ⲛⲕⲉϣⲛⲁ, 96.
Nomina sacra, contraction and overlining of, 80–1.

οἰκονόμος, 49.
Orthography: Confusion of δ and ζ, 54, 63.
— — ε and αι unusually frequent, 80.
— — ε and ει, 54.
— — ει and η, 65.
— — η and αι, 54.
— — η and ει, 54.
— — η and ι in Χριστός, Χριστιανικός, 51.
— — η and υ, 54.
— — οι and υ, 54.
— — ρ and λ, 54.
— — υ and β, 54.
— — υ and η, 2.
— — υ and οι, 2.
— — ω and ο, 2.
— dropping of υ from diphthong αυ, 37.
— γ omitted from γγ, γκ, 54, 63.
— incorrect insertion of iota adscript, 2.

Orthography: intervocalic γ, 51.
— -ιος shortened to -ις, 2.

Pahbew, 93.
Paiêous, Apa, 43–4.
— letter from, 94.
— name Παιηοῦ, Παιηοῦς, 63.
Pamin, 41[8].
πάπας, meaning of, 63, 65.
Paphnutius, identity of, 100–2.
— papyri, 44.
— — provenance of, 110.
Paphnutius, Meletian confessor, 41.
πάροικοι applied to Jews, 13.
Παταβεὶτ, 63.
Pater Patriae: date of acceptance of title by Claudius, 29.
Pax Augusta, 32.
Pax Augusta Claudiana, golden statue of, 5–6.
Pesla, village of, 52.
Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, 39.
Peter, Bishop of Heracleopolis, 69.
Philadelphia, site of, 1.
— papyri, 1–2.
Philo's evidence as to Jews and Alexandrian citizenship, 13 f.
— *In Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium*, mutual relation of, 16.
Phinees, Egyptian Bishop at Synod of Tyre, 70.
Pinnes of Ptemencyrcis, 88–9, 101.
πολιτεία, sense of, 13, 16.
Pollio, Vitrasius, 33.
Praepositus castrorum, 65.
Πρανοῦς, 70.
πρέσβυς, use of, for πρεσβευτής, 31.
Presbyters, power of, at Alexandria, 64.
Processions in Greek festivals, 32.
Procurator metallorum, 33.
Propositio, 4, 29.
ψήφισμα, 31.
Ptemencyrcis, monastery of, 46.
Publication of rescripts, 4.

Rectus, L. Aemilius, 29.
ⲣⲏⲧⲉ, 93.
Roma (Dea Roma), cult of, 32.

Sabbion, Sambion, 30.
Sardica, Council of, 46, 47, 54[1], 56[1], 63, 101.
— — date of, 67.
Σεβαστεῖα, groves connected with, 33.
— municipal temples, 35.
Secretariat, development of, under Claudius, 22.
Signa, σίγνα, ⲥⲓⲉⲛⲟⲩ, *sijn*, 65.
Sun, Gate of the, 64.
Synagogues, attacks on, 36.
Syria, Jews from, called in by Alexandrian Jews, 17–19.

Ταβεὶτ, 63.
ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ, 93.
Tamourô, Meletian settlement at, 44.
ⲧⲁⲛⲟ, 93.
Taxes, burden of, 72–3.
Terôt, 71.
Thebaid, Meletians in, 44.
Theon, archidicastes, 30.
Theon, C. Julius, viii.
θεός, application of title to living Emperor, 8.
Titles, use of, in letters, 117.
Τιτούης, 71.
Tmounakôn, 71.
Τουᾶν, 71.
Τουβέστις, 69.
Tribes at Alexandria, 5, 33.
Tribunicia potestas, mention of, in Imperial title, a sign of translation from Latin, 3.
Tyre, Arsenius found at, 46.
— Synod of, 41, 47, 48, 51–2, 55–7, 63, 66–8, 70, 101.

Vestis, court title, 69.

Wadi Habib, Meletians at, 42.
Wheat, price of, 70.
Women, standard of education of, 108.

Zeno, archive of, 1.

2. PERSONAL INDEX

Ἀθανάσιος, Bishop of Alexandria, **1914**, 9, 29, 37, 38; **1925**, 15, 18; **1929**, 2, 23.
Ἀθανάσιος, son of Capito, agent of St. Athanasius, **1914**, 33.
Αἰμίλιος Ῥῆκτος, Λούκιος, prefect, **1912**, 1, 70.
Ἄμμων, Meletian at Alexandria, **1914**, 21.
Ἄμμων, ἄπα, **1917**, 17.
Ἀμμώνιος, **1923**, 4.
Ἀνίκιος Παυλῖνος, consul, **1913**, 1.
Ἀνουβᾶς μέγας, **1914**, 60.
Ἀνουβᾶς μικρός, **1914**, 60.
Ἀντίνοος (?), **1917**, 11 (-νους).

Ἀντίοχος, **1929**, 17.
Ἀπολλώνιος, Γάιος Ἰούλιος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 19.
Ἀπολλώνιος, Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 19 (-ωνις).
Ἀπολλώνιος, father of Hermaiscus, **1912**, 20.
Ἀπολλώνιος, son of Artemidorus, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 16 (-ωνις).
Ἀρηοῦς, ἅπα, Meletian, **1914**, 55.
Ἀρηοῦς (?), **1925**, 19.
Ἀρίστων, father of Ti. Claudius Apollonius, **1912**, 19.
Ἀρποκρᾶς, ἁλιεύς, **1919**, 30.
Αρτεμίδωρος, father of Apollonius, **1912**, 16.
Ἀρχέλαος, agent of St. Athanasius, **1914**, 32, 36, 37.
Ἀρχίβιος, Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος, **1912**, 108.
Ἀσκληπιάδης, Μᾶρκος Ἰούλιος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 17.
ατρηc. See ϩατρε.
Αὐρήλιος Γερόντιος, son of Horus, **1913**, 11.
Αὐρήλιος Παγεῦς, son of Horus, priest, **1913**, 2, [18].
Αὐσόνιος, **1924**, 2, 15.
Αὐτοκράτωρ, **1912**, 12, 14.
αφιπσε, **1922**, 1.

Βάρβιλλος, Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 16, 36, 105.
Βασσιανή, **1926**, 22.
Βηc, **1922**, 1.

Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἀπολλώνιος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 19.
Γάιος Ἰούλιος Διονύσιος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 17.
Γάλλος, **1924**, 6.
Γερμανικός, **1912**, 12, 14. Γ. Καῖσαρ, **1912**, 27.
Γερόντιος, ἅπα, **1914**, 55; **1918**, 4 (Κερονδ.).
Γερόντιος, Αὐρήλιος, son of Horus, **1913**, 11.

Διδύμη, **1929**, 11, 12, 17.
Δίδυμος (?), **1923**, 16.
ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ (?), **1921**, 32.
Διονύσιος, Γάιος Ἰούλιος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 17, 76.
Διονύσιος, son of Sabbion, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 18.
Διοσκορίδης, Prior of Hathor, **1913**, 18.
Διόσκορος, ἅπα, **1916**, 3; **1918**, 4; **1921**, 23 (?).
Δωρύθεος, **1925**, 22.
Δωρόθεος, ὁ Ὀξυρυγχίτης, **1927**, 2.

Ἑλενᾶς, ἅπα, **1914**, 55.
Ἕμις (?), Meletian Bishop, **1914**, 48.
Ἑριηοῦς, **1915**, [2], 40; [**1916**, 6?].
Ἑρμαίσκος, son of Apollonius, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 19.
Εὐ[, **1925**, 16.
Εὐδαίμων, **1914**, 54.
Εὐσέβιος, **1925**, 19.

Ἠλίας, ἅπα, **1914**, 60.
Ἡραίσκος, Meletian leader at Alexandria, **1914**, 7, 25, 36, 45.
Ἡρακλείδης, μονάριος, **1914**, 19.
Ἡρακλείδης, **1928**, 2, 17.
Ἡράκλειος, *commentariensis*, **1914**, 3 (-κλε.).

Θεόδοσιος, **1929**, 17.
Θεύκλεια, **1926**, 22.
Θέων, διάκων, **1914**, 53.
Θέων, father of C. Julius Dionysius, **1912**, 76.

Ἰέραξ, ἅπα, **1914**, 55; **1916**, 3; **1918**, 5; **1921**, 22.
Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, **1917**, 2; **1927**, 6.
Ἰούλιος Ἀπολλώνιος, Γάιος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 19.
Ἰούλιος Ἀσκληπιάδης, Μᾶρκος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 17.
Ἰούλιος Διονύσιος, Γάιος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 17.
Ἰσάκ, Meletian Bishop of Letopolis, **1914**, 6.
ιεραωρος, **1921**, 20.
Ἰωάννης (Archaph), ἅπα, Meletian leader, **1914**, 34.
Ἰωσήπ, **1914**, 56.

Καῖσαρ, Γερμανικός, **1912**, 27.
Καῖσαρ, Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος, **1912**, 12, 14.
Καῖσαρ, ὁ θεός, **1912**, 9.
Κάλλιστος, **1914**, 1, 63 (Καλιστ.).
Καπίτων, father of Athanasius, **1914**, 33.
Κλαυδιανός: Κλαυδιανὴ Εἰρήνη Σεβαστή, **1912**, 35.
— φυλὴ Κλαυδιανά, **1912**, 41.
Κλαύδιος Ἀπολλώνιος, Τιβέριος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 19 (-δις).
Κλαύδιος Ἀρχίβιος, Τιβέριος, **1912**, 108.
Κλαύδιος Βάρβιλλος, Τιβέριος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 16.
Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ, Τιβέριος, **1912**, 11, 14.
Κλαύδιος Φανίας, Τιβέριος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 18.
Κολλοῦθος, Prior of Hathor, **1913**, 18, 19.
Κολλοῦθος, **1914**, 56.
Κολοβός, **1918**, 9.
Κορνήλιος, **1914**, 55.
Κ[. . . . .]ς, ἅπα, **1917**, 10.
Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεύς, **1913**, 4.

Λεωνίδης, father of Chaeremon, **1912**, 17 (Λεον.).
Λεωνίδης, **1914**, 61; **1918**, 6.
Λούκιος Αἰμίλιος Ῥῆκτος, prefect, **1912**, 1.

Μακάριος, Athanasian priest, **1914**, 30, 34.
Μᾶρκος Ἰούλιος Ἀσκληπιάδης, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 17.
Μεγαλώνυμος, ἄπα, **1917**, 12 (Μικαλωνην), 18 (do.); **1921**, 24 (ⲙⲩⲕⲁⲗⲱⲛⲩⲙⲟⲥ), 25 (Μικ.).
Μελιτιανοί, οἱ, **1914**, 20.
Μικαλώνην, ⲙⲩⲕⲁⲗⲱⲛⲩⲙⲟⲥ. See Μεγαλώνυμος.
Μωυσῆς, **1916**, 6.

Ὀπτᾶτος, Φλάνιος, consul, **1913**, 1.
Ὄρ, **1914**, 60. See also Ὧρος, ϩⲱⲣ.
Οὐαλερία, **1926**, 4, 28.
Οὐενάφριος, father of Touan, **1917**, 11.
Οὐιτράσιος Πολλίων, ἐπίτροπος, **1912**, 43.

Παγεῦς, Αὐρήλιος, son of Horus, **1913**, 2, [18].
ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩ, ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲉⲓ, **1920**, 4.
Παιηοῦς, ἄπα, **1915**, 2, 40; **1916**, 2, 33; **1918**, 1, 11, 21; **1919**, 2, 34. Παιηοῦ, **1914**, 1, [63]; **1917**, 2, 5, 26. ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩ, **1921**, 1. ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲛⲩ, **1920**, 2, 28. ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ, **1921**, 32.
Παμούτιος, **1914**, 60.
Παμώνθιος, **1915**, 6; [**1916**, 10?].
Πανᾶρε, ἄπα, **1918**, 8.
Παπνούθης ὁ Ἀιταιοπολίτης, **1918**, 8.
Παπνούθης, **1918**, 7.
Παπνούθιος, ἄπα, anchorite, **1923**, 3, 25; **1924**, 1, 14. Παπνούτιος, **1925**, 2, 24; **1928**, 1, 16; **1929**, 1, 22. Παφνούθιος, **1926**, 2. Παφνούτιος, **1926**, 28.
Παπνούθιος, Meletian, **1913**, 21. See also Παπνούτιος.
Παπνούτιος, deacon, **1913**, 10.
Παπνούτιος, ἄπα (two persons), **1914**, 54, 61.
Πασίων, son of Potamon, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 18.
Παταβαεῖς, priest, **1913**, 9.
Παταβείτ, priest, **1914**, 1, [63]; **1920**, 4 (ⲡⲁⲧⲁϧⲉⲉⲓⲧ).
Παυλίνος, Ἀνίκιος, consul, **1913**, 1.
Παῦλος, ὁ ἀναγνώστης, **1914**, 59.
Παῦλος, πρεσβύτερος, **1917**, 11.
Παῦλος, **1919**, 25.
Παφνούθιος, Παφνούτιος. See Παπνούθιος.
Παώμιος, **1914**, 54.
ⲡⲁϧⲉⲩ, **1920**, 21, 23.
Πεβέ, ἄπα, **1917**, 11, 17, 21, 26 (?).
Πέννης, **1919**, 2.
Πετθυβέστιος, **1918**, 7.
Πετνίριος, **1918**, 6.
Πέτρος, Meletian Bishop [of Heracleopolis?], **1914**, 48.
ⲡⲉⲧⲥ[(?), **1921**, 1.
ⲡⲉⲩⲡ[, **1922**, 12.
Πιάμ, ἄπα, **1914**, 55.
Πιάνιος, **1925**, 2.
Πιόρ, **1914**, 54.
Πισάτιος, **1914**, 56.
Πολλίων, Οὐιτράσιος, ἐπίτροπος, **1912**, 43 (Πωλειωνος).
Ποτάμων, father of Pasion, **1912**, 18.
Πρανοῦς, **1914**, 52.
Πρωοῦς, former monk, **1913**, 10, 20.
Πσαλιοῦς, **1918**, 19.

Ῥῆκτος, Λούκιος Αἰμίλιος, prefect, **1912**, 1, 70.
Ῥώμη (personified), **1912**, 37.

Σαββίων, father of Dionysius, **1912**, 18.
Σαπρίων, **1914**, 53.
Σαρμάτης, ἄπα, **1914**, 54.
Σεβαστός, **1912**, 12, 14. ὁ θεὸς Σεβαστός, **1912**, 59, 61, 62, 87. οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ Σεβαστοί, **1912**, 68. οἱ Σεβαστοί, **1912**, 23.
Σεῦε (?), **1917**, 10 (see note).
Σουροῦς, ἄπα, **1916**, 4 (-ρου); **1917**, 11, 12, 21.

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἀπολλώνιος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 19.
Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἀρχίβιος, **1912**, 108.
Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Βάρβιλλος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 16.
Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Αὐτοκράτωρ, **1912**, 11, 14.
Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Φανίας, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 18.
Τιτούης, **1914**, 60.
Τουᾶν, ἄπα, **1918**, 8; **1914**, 58.
Τουᾶν, son of Ouenaphrius, **1917**, 11.
Τούβεστις, father of Peter, **1914**, 48.
Τρύφων, ἄπα, **1917**, 54; **1918**, 4 (Τρ.); **1921**, 21.

Φανίας, Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 18.
Φίνες, **1914**, 56.
Φλάνιος Ὀπτᾶτος, consul, **1913**, 1.

Χαιρήμων, son of Leonides, envoy to Claudius, **1912**, 17.
Χαρίσιος, **1918**, 1, 22.
ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲧⲱⲛ, **1922**, 6 (-ⲧⲟⲩ), 15.
Χριστός, **1919**, 14, 15, 17, 21; **1921**, 10; **1925**, 6; **1926**, 4. 7; **1927**, 4; **1928**, 9 (Χρηστ.), 15 (do.); **1929**, 3. Ἰησοῦς Χ., **1917**, 2; **1927**, 6.

Ψαεῖς, **1914**, 57.
Ψαῖς, ἁλιεύς, **1919**, 30.

Ὡρίων, **1914**, 53; **1922**, 14 (ωρριωη); **1929**, 16.
Ὧρος, father of Aur. Pageus, **1913**, 1.
Ὧρος, **1924**, 4. See also ϩωρ.
Ὡρσενούφιος, ἄπα, **1917**, 10.
ϩατρε, **1920**, 1, 28 (ατρ.).
ϩελεπη, mother of Hôr, **1920**, 6; **1922**, 13 (?).
ϩωρ, **1920**, 6. See also Ὧρος, Ὅρ.

3. GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

Ἄθωρ, monastery in the Upper Cynopolite nome, **1913**, 3; **1920**, 2 (πρατρωρ).
Αἴγυπτος, **1912**, 42, 48, 76; **1913**, 4.
Ἀλεξάνδρεια, **1912**, 47, 60; **1914**, 7.
Ἀλεξανδρεύς, **1912**, 54, 82.
Ἀλεξανδρέων ἡ πόλις, **1912**, 15.
Ἀνταιοπολίτης, **1918**, 9.
Ἀντιόχεια, **1914**, 34.
Ἄνω μέρη, τά, **1917**, 18, 23.
Γερμανικός. See Index 2.
Ἕλλην (= 'pagan'), **1914**, 28.
Ἡρακλεοπολίτης νομός, **1913**, 2.
Ἰουδαῖος, **1912**, 73, 83, 88, 97.
Ἱππώνων, village in the Heracleopolite nome, **1913**, 2, 9.
Καισάρεια τῆς Παλαιστίνης Συρίας, **1913**, 6, 7.
Κάνωπος, **1912**, 61.
Κάτω χώρα, ἡ, **1914**, 42.
Κυνοπολίτης (νομός), ὁ ἄνω, **1913**, 3.
Λητοῦς (πόλις), **1914**, 7.
Λιβύη, **1912**, 46.
Μέμφεως, νῆσος τῆς, **1917**, 9.
Νικόπολις, **1914**, 15, 19.
Ὀξυρυγχίτης, **1927**, 2.
Παλαιστίνη Συρία, ἡ, **1913**, 6.
Παμινπέσλα, **1913**, 10.
Παρεμβολή, ἡ, at Alexandria, **1914**, 8, 10 *bis*, 11–13, 17, 21, 22, 46.
παρωμ, τμογ ⲛ-, **1920**, 1.
πρατρωρ. See Ἄθωρ.
Πηλούσιον, **1912**, 47.
Πύλη τοῦ Ἡλίου, at Alexandria, **1914**, 15–6.
Ῥώμη, **1912**, 37.
Συρία, **1912**, 96. ἡ Παλαιστίνη Σ., **1913**, 6.
Ταμούρω, village in the Heracleopolite nome, **1914**, 58 *bis*.
Ταπόσιρις, **1912**, 46.
τμογ ⲛπαρωμ, **1920**, 1.
Τερόι, **1914**, 57.
Τηένις, **1917**, 11.
Τουμνακών (= Τμουνακών?), **1914**, 61.
τωρε, **1920**, 6.
Φάρος, **1912**, 47.
Φιλονίκου, village in the Heracleopolite nome, **1924**, 5.

4. GENERAL INDEX

(*a*) Greek Words.

(*An asterisk indicates a doubtful form.*)

ἀγαθός, **1927**, 11. τὸ ἀγαθόν, **1912**, 95.
ἀγαπάω, **1918**, 1; **1925**, 17; **1928**, 1, 16.
ἀγάπη, **1914**, 28; **1916**, 15, 31; **1919**, 28, 31; **1921**, 8; **1927**, 4, 60; **1929**, 8 (?).
ἀγαπητός, **1914**, 1; **1916**, 1, 9, 10, 19, 28; **1917**, 1, 14, 21; **1923**, 1, 25; **1924**, 1, 12, 14; **1925**, 24; **1929**, 1, 19, 21, 22.
ἀγγελία, **1927**, 57.
ἀγγέλλω, [**1916**, 9?]; **1927**, 55.
ἅγιος, **1913**, 6; **1917**, 1, 4, 5, 10, 15, 17, 22; **1923**, 6, 13; **1924**, 10; **1926**, 16, 21; **1929**, 8, 9. ἁγιώτατος, **1917**, 8, 9, 18; **1921**, 31.
ἁγιότης, **1925**, 10, 20; **1929**, 5.
ἀγοράζω, **1914**, 50, 51.
ἄγω, **1912**, 30.
ἀγών, **1912**, 93, 107; **1929**, 13.
ἀδελφός, **1912**, 26; **1913**, 12; **1914**, 1, 4, 11, 13, 16, 21–4, 26, 27, 49, 53, 61, 62 *bis*; **1915**, 1, 5 *bis*, 16, 35, 40; **1916**, 4, 18, 29, 33, 38, 40; **1917**, 9, 27; **1918**, 5, 9, 11; **1919**, 1, 7 (?), 8, 14, 24, 26 *bis*, 28; **1923**, 16; **1925**, 13, 20, 21, 24; **1927**, 1, 62; **1928**, 13.
ἀδελφότης, **1915**, 11.
ἄδηλος, **1912**, 69.
ἀεί, **1912**, 105; **1923**, 6; **1928**, 3; **1929**, 20.
ἀείμνηστος, **1919**, 12, 19.
ἄθεος, **1915**, 8, 27; **1916**, 13.
ἆθλον, **1927**, 37.
ἀθυμέω, **1914**, 29, 38.
αἰδέομαι, **1927**, 51.
*αἱμαρρόης, **1914**, 14 (εμαρωεις).

ἄῤρω, **1914**, 12, 36, 50.
ἄῤσχιστος, **1915**, 7; [**1916**, 11].
αἰτέω, **1912**, 52; **1926**, 6 (ετ.). αἰτέομαι, **1929**, 8.
αἰτία, **1914**, 20 (ετιαν).
αἴτιος, **1912**, 74.
αἰών, **1912**, 51.
ἀκοή, **1927**, 36.
ἀκούω, **1914**, 3, 8, 37.
ἀκριβῶς, **1912**, 77.
ἀκυρόω, [**1917**, 7?].
ἀλαζονεία, **1927**, 32.
ἄλευρα, **1918**, 13.
ἀληθής: τὸ ἀληθές, **1912**, 73.
ἀληθῶς, **1928**, 13.
ἀλιεύς, **1919**, 30.
ἀλλά, **1912**, 86; **1915**, 16; **1916**, 23; **1917**, 19; **1927**, 30.
ἄλληλοι, **1912**, 80, 102; **1919**, 10, 15. 19.
ἄλλος, **1912**, 26, 57; **1913**, 19; **1914**, 16, 21, 23, 62; **1919**, 31; **1928**, 14.
ἀλλότριος, **1912**, 95.
ἄλλως, **1928**, 7.
ἅλσος, **1912**, 42.
ἁμαρτάνω, **1914**, 27.
ἁμάρτημα, **1914**, 28.
ἁμαρτία, **1917**, 8; [**1925**, 11].
ἀμελέω, **1914**, 48, 56; **1915**, 36; **1916**, 28; **1918**, 16.
ἀμεταμέλητος, **1912**, 78.
ἀμετανόητος, **1913**, 11.
ἀμφότεροι, **1912**, 88, 101.
ἄν (conj.), **1912**, 79.
ἀναγγέλλω, **1914**, 5.
ἀναγινώσκω, **1912**, 8; **1917**, 3.
ἀναγκάζω, **1912**, 98; **1915**, 8, 22.
ἀναγκαῖος, **1912**, 6; **1925**, 4.
ἀναγκαίως, **1916**, 16.
ἀνάγκη, **1913**, 8; **1916**, 11, 21, 29, 34; **1925**, 12.
ἀνάγνωσις, **1912**, 2.
ἀναγνώστης, **1914**, 59.
ἀναδίδωμι, **1912**, 20.
ἀναλαμβάνω, **1929**, 7.
ἀνιπέμπω, **1913**, 3.
ἀνάστασις, **1912**, 31, 45.
ἀνατίθημι, **1912**, 37.
ἀναφέρω, **1927**, 13.
ἀναχωρητής, **1925**, 24.
ἀνδριάς, **1912**, 31, 34, 44.
ἀνελεήμων, **1915**, 8, 27; [**1916**, 12].
ἀνέρχομαι, **1927**, 58.
ἄνευ, **1913**, 15 (?).
ἀνήρ: κατ' ἄνδρα, **1912**, 7.
ἄνθρωπος, **1912**, 49; **1915**, 7; **1916**, 12; **1923**, 10.
ἀνίστημι, **1912**, 44.
ἀντί, **1913**, 8.
ἀντικατάστασις, **1912**, 75.
ἄντικρυς, **1912**, 89.
ἀντίπαλος, **1927**, 43.
ἄνω, **1913**, 3; **1917**, 18, 23. ἀνωτάτω, **1912**, 103.
ἀνωμαλέω, **1929**, 12.
ἀξιόω, **1912**, 38; **1915**, 30; **1924**, 6; **1926**, 5.
ἀξιώτατος, **1917**, 14.
ἀόκνως, **1916**, 17.
ἅπα, **1914**, 1, 34, 54 *bis*, 55 *quater*, 59, 63; **1917**, 2, 5, 10–12 *saepe*, 17 *ter*, 21 *bis*, 26 *bis*; **1918**, 1, 4 *ter*, 5, 7, 8, 11; [**1919**, 1, 34]; **1924**, 1, 14; **1925**, 2; **1926**, 2 (αππα), 28 (do.); **1928**, 1, 16.
ἀπαιτέω, **1915**, 21.
ἁπανταχῆ, **1929**, 6, 16.
ἀπαντάω, **1913**, 6; **1915**, 21; **1923**, 15, 18; **1927**, 54.
ἅπας, **1912**, 53, 95; **1924**, 6; **1929**, 14.
ἀπέρχομαι, **1914**, 15, 25, 32, 34, 58; **1917**, 13 (απηλθα).
ἀπηλιωτικός, **1913**, 3.
ἁπλίκιτον, **1914**, 44.
ἁπλῶς, **1912**, 79.
ἀπό, **1913**, 2, 10; **1914**, 7, 41, 57, 58, 61; **1917**, 11; **1923**, 8, 9; **1924**, 5. ἀπὸ ἔξωθεν, **1914**, 30.
ἀποδείκνυμι: ὕπατος ἀποδεδειγμένος, **1912**, 15.
ἀποδημέω, **1914**, 39, 40, 41, 47.
ἀποδίδωμι, **1912**, 51; **1915**, 40; **1917**, 16; **1918**, 21; **1920**, 28.
ἀποκάλυμμα, **1926**, 10 (-καλυνμ.).
ἀποκηρύττω, **1927**, 33.
ἀπολαμβάνω, [**1915**, 31].
ἀπολαύω, **1912**, 94 (-λαουτας).
ἀποπληρόω, **1913**, 12.
ἀποπλήρωσις, **1913**, 7.
ἀποσπάω, **1914**, 34; **1915**, 27.
ἀποστέλλω, **1914**, 51, 57; **1916**, 38; **1929**, 16.
ἀποστερέω, **1915**, 9; **1917**, 19.
ἀπόστολος, **1915**, 14; **1927**, 46.
ἀποφατικός, **1927**, 44.
ἄρα, **1912**, 72.
ἀργύριον, **1915**, 20, 26; **1916**, 24, 27.
ἀρετή, **1926**, 2.
ἀρνέομαι, **1912**, 36, 41.
ἁρπάζω, **1915**, 35; **1916**, 18.
ἁρτάβη, **1914**, 51, 57, 58; **1918**, 13 *bis*.
ἄρτος, **1914**, 50.
ἀρχαῖος, **1912**, 67; **1913**, 10.
ἀρχή, **1912**, 63, 66, 71.
ἀρχιερεύς, **1912**, 48 (αρχιερ.). ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, **1912**, 14.
ἄρχω, **1912**, 65. ἄρχομαι, **1912**, 78.
ἄρχων, **1912**, 64; **1915**, 18.
ἀσθενέω, **1915**, 15.
ἀσθενῶς, **1917**, 16.
ἀσκέω, **1926**, 9.
ἀσπάζομαι, **1914**, 52, 59; **1917**, 26; **1918**, 3 *bis*, 6, 8, 18; **1926**, 23, 25.
ἀσφαλής, **1916**, 39, 40. τὸ ἀσφαλές, **1916**, 26.
ἀσχημοσύνη, **1915**, 24.
ἀτυνώτατα, **1929**, 14.
*αὐθάδως, **1912**, 80 (see note).
αὐθαιρέτως, **1913**, 11.
αὐτοκράτωρ, **1912**, 12, 14.
αὐτός, **1912**, 5, 8, 30, 39, 62, 84, 85, 86, 99; **1913**, 5, 14(?); **1914**, *passim*; **1915**, 10, 13, 18, 19, 24, 30, 31, 34, [36]; **1916**, 14, 17 *bis*, 22, 25, 36, 41 *bis*, 42; **1917**, 3, 12, 18 *bis*, 19, 22, 23; **1919**, 20, 22; **1923**, 19; **1924**, 5; **1925**, 6, 16, 22; **1926**, 21, 24; **1927**, 8, 39, [57]; **1929**, 3.
ἀφιδρύω, **1912**, 45.
ἀφίημι, **1914**, 49.
ἀφίσταμαι, **1912**, 101.
ἄχρειος, **1927**, 3.
ἄχρι, **1912**, 53; **1913**, 8, 12; **1915**, 23.

βαίνω, **1917**, 13.
βασιλεύς, **1912**, 59, 67; **1913**, 4; **1914**, 30.
βασιλικός, **1913**, 3.
βδελύττω, **1927**, 34.
βέβαιος, **1912**, 54 (βαιβ.), 58. βεβαιότατος, **1917**, 4, 5, 8.
βεβαιόω, **1912**, 59, 88.
βίος, **1921**, 13.

βοάω, **1928**, 12.
βοήθεια, **1928**, 4, 14.
βοηθέω, **1915**, 4, 34; **1928**, 7, 14.
βουλεύομαι, **1912**, 63.
βουλή, **1912**, 66.
βούλομαι, **1912**, 40, 43, 45, 50, 57, 61, 77; **1913**, 15; **1914**, 10, 34, 41; **1927**, 57, [58].

γάρ, **1912**, 32, 64; **1914**, 3, 4, 6, 23, 26, 50, 59; **1915**, 16; **1916**, 37; **1919**, 14; **1923**, 13; **1925**, 7, 16; **1926**, 9, 11, 13; **1927**, 10, 16, 27, 45; [**1928**, 6]; **1929**, 5, 7, 10, 12.
γείτων, **1916**, 40 (γιτονοις).
γενεθλία, ἡ, **1912**, 30.
γενναιότατος, **1927**, 37.
γένος, **1912**, 32.
γεύομαι, **1914**, 8.
γίνομαι, **1912**, 24, 35, 57, 72; **1913**, 8, 15, (γιγν.?); **1917**, 20 (do.), 22, [25?]; **1929**, 16.
γινώσκω, **1912**, 53; **1914**, 2, 42; **1915**, 13; **1917**, 8.
γλυκελαία, **1918**, 15 (κλοκελεας).
γλυκύτατος, **1916**, 1; **1923**, 21.
γνήσιος: γνησιώτερος, **1912**, 27. γνησιώτατος, **1917**, 1, 5, 8, 14.
γνώμη, **1913**, 11.
γνώριμος, **1912**, 24 (γνορ.).
γράμματα, **1913**, 3, 19; **1914**, 36; **1915**, 11; **1917**, 3; **1925**, 5; **1927**, 9, 12.
γραμμάτιον, **1913**, 16.
γραφή, **1921**, 17.
γράφω, **1912**, 70; **1913**, 19; **1914**, 29, 31, 35, 41; **1916**, 25, 33, 39; **1917**, 3, 5, 17 *bis*, 21, [23].
γυμνασιαρχικός, **1912**, 93.

δανείζομαι, **1915**, 20.
δανειστής, **1915**, 22, 26; **1916**, 18.
δείκνυμι, **1912**, 81; **1926**, 11; **1927**, 36.
δειλαίνομαι, **1914**, 24.
δεινός, **1914**, 35; **1926**, 12.
δεσπότης, **1914**, 46; **1917**, 2, 6; **1927**, 14.
δεύτερον, εἰς, **1914**, 40.
δέχομαι, **1927**, 8.
δέω (1), **1914**, 19 (δυσαντες), 31.
δέω (2), **1915**, 10. δεῖ, **1912**, 71, 72. δέομαι, **1926**, 15 *bis*; **1928**, 4.
δή, **1912**, 68.
δῆλος: δῆλον = δηλαδή, **1912**, 21.
δηλόω, **1912**, 71; **1915**, 12.
δημαρχικός: δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, **1912**, 15.
διά: with acc., **1912**, 5, 37; **1913**, 9; **1914**, 28, 29, 49; **1915**, 10; **1919**, 15; **1927**, 30; **1929**, 8. with gen., **1917**, 7, 8, 18, 20, 23; **1923**, 6; **1925**, 5; **1926**, 8; **1927**, 11, 55; **1928**, 4, 14, 15; **1929**, 15.
διαβολικός, **1917**, 14.
διάβολος, **1923**, 9.
διάγω, **1929**, 15.
διάδοχος, **1913**, 8.
διάθεσις, **1919**, 8.
διαθήκη, **1917**, 9.
διακούω, **1912**, 88.
διάκρισις, **1913**, 6.
διάκων, **1913**, 10; **1914**, 44, 53.
διαμαρτύρομαι, **1912**, 82.
διάνοια, **1927**, 15.
διασκέπτομαι, **1912**, 71.
διατελέω, **1929**, 5.
διατροφή, **1914**, 50.
διαφέρω: οἱ διαφέροντες, 'the partizans', **1914**, 8.
διαφυλάσσω, **1912**, 54; **1923**, 23; **1924**, 12; **1929**, 19.
δίδωμι, **1912**, 28, 64; **1915**, 31; **1916**, 25, 37; **1927**, 56; **1928**, 6 (?); **1929**, 3, 7.
διεξέρχομαι, **1912**, 21.
διέργω, **1914**, 24.
δίκαιος, **1912**, 81. τὸ δίκαιον, **1929**, 9.
διοικέω, **1913**, 13.
διόπερ, **1912**, 28, 42, 82.
διότι, **1927**, 32.
δίφρος, **1912**, 39.
δοκέω, **1912**, 37, 64.
δουλεία, **1915**, 36; **1916**, 17.
δοῦλος, **1912**, 56; **1927**, 3, 11.
δοῦξ, **1914**, 9.
δύναμαι, **1912**, 5; **1913**, 12; **1914**, 5; **1915**, 21, 31; **1916**, 24 (δυνησατε), [39?]; **1928**, 14.
δύναμις, **1915**, 19, 26; **1916**, 23; **1919**, 21, 22.
δυνατός: ἐν τοῖς δυνατοῖς, **1924**, 7.
δύο, **1912**, 34, 90, 91; **1914**, 23; **1918**, 13.
δύσπνοια, **1926**, 12.

ἐάν, **1912**, 100; **1918**, 17; **1926**, 14; **1927**, 49. for ἄν, **1915**, 30; **1916**, 24, 39; **1929**, 8.
ἑαυτοῦ, **1914**, 9; **1915**, 23, 28.
ἐάω, **1912**, 86; **1914**, 21.
ἑβδομος καὶ εἰκάς, **1914**, 47 (ευδ.).
ἐγγύη, **1916**, 42.
ἐγκωμιάζω, **1927**, 20.
ἐγώ, **1912**, 32, 87, 103; **1914**, 50; **1917**, 18; **1925**, 18; **1927**, 10. ἐμέ, **1913**, 5; **1918**, 12. ἐμοί, **1912**, 22, 36, 63, 106. ἐμοῦ, **1912**, 32, 52, 58, 68; **1913**, 8; **1917**, 7, 9, 18, [20], 22–24; **1924**, 7; **1925**, 14; **1927**, 9, 13; **1928**, 10; **1929**, 13. με, **1917**, 12, 13 (l. μοι), 16, 19 *bis*; **1923**, 15; **1924**, 6; **1925**, 7, 11; **1927**, 7, 12; **1928**, 5 *bis*. μοί, **1912**, 20, 21, 24, 28, 45, 71; **1913**, 8; **1914**, 52; **1916**, 18 (l. με), 25; **1918**, 16; **1923**, 17; [**1925**, 13]; **1926**, 6. μου, **1912**, 32, 37; **1913**, 7, 12 *bis*, 14; **1914**, 52; **1917**, 8; **1923**, 12, 14; **1924**, 10; **1925**, [10], 19, 23, 24 (?); **1926**, 14, 16, 20, 24, 26; **1928**, 5, 13; **1929**, 12. See ἡμεῖς.
ἐθέλω, **1912**, 102; **1914**, 7.
ἔθος, **1912**, 86.
εἰ, **1912**, 43, 56, 69, 71, 73, 98; **1916**, 18, 22, 24, 39; **1918**, 15; **1926**, 17; **1927**, 53. εἰ μή, **1914**, 23; **1928**, 14.
εἰδήμων, **1914**, 51.
εἰκάς: ἑβδομος καὶ εἰκ., **1914**, 47. ὄγδοος καὶ εἰκ., **1914**, 45. τετρὰς καὶ εἰκάς, **1914**, 6 (εικαζι).

εἰλικρινής, **1927**, 15.
εἰμί, **1912**, 26, 29, 50, 57, 60, 61, 63, 81; **1913**, 3; **1914**, 4, 16, 21, 23, 28, 35, 42, 46, 48, 53, 59; **1916**, 11; **1917**, 9 (ησμαιν); **1919**, 15, 18 (μεεθα for ἤμεθα?), 21 *bis*; **1923**, 15; [**1925**, 20?]; **1927**, 47, 50, 54; **1928**, 13; **1929**, 6, 11, [13]
εἶπερ, **1912**, 72.
εἶπον. See under λέγω.
εἰρήνη, **1917**, 4; **1923**, 22. Κλαυδιανὴ Εἰρήνη Σεβαστή, **1912**, 35.
εἰς, **1918**, 14 *bis*, 15.
εἰς, **1912**, 3, 21, 33, 81; **1913**, 7, 12 (?); **1914**, 50, 58; **1915**, 30, 36; **1916**, 17; **1917**, 12, 13, 16, 18, 23; **1928**, 5; **1929**, 14. εἰς δεύτερον, **1914**, 40. εἰς for ἐν, **1914**, 48.
εἰσακούω, **1928**, 12.
εἰσβολή, **1912**, 45.
εἰσπράττω, **1915**, 19.
ἐκ, **1912**, 22, 24, 75, 84, 97, 99; **1913**, 11; **1914**, 4; **1915**, 19; **1917**, 4 (εκξ); **1925**, 11, [12]. ἐγ, **1912**, 56.
ἑκασταχοῦ, **1912**, 31.
ἕκαστος, **1912**, 7; **1925**, 8.
ἑκάτεροι, **1919**, 16.
ἐκβαίνω, **1914**, 13 (εγβ.); **1917**, 13.
ἐκβάλλω, **1914**, 14, 15 (εγβ.), 19 (do.).
ἔκβασις, **1913**, 7.
ἐκβιάζω, **1912**, 80 (εγβ.).
ἐκεῖ, **1914**, 16; **1917**, 13.
ἐκεῖνος, **1914**, 3, 6, 13, 28; **1915**, 27.
ἐκλέγω, **1913**, 14.
ἑκουσίως, **1913**, 11.
ἐκπέμπω, **1912**, 91.
ἐκρίπτω (?), **1917**, 19 (see note).
ἐκτίθημι, **1912**, 6.
ἐκτός, **1914**, 19.
ἔλαιον, **1928**, 6.
ἐλεήμων, **1917**, 20 *bis*, 22, 25.
ἐλπίς, **1915**, 9; **1928**, 15.
ἐμαυτοῦ, **1912**, 77.
ἐμβάλλομαι, **1914**, 39.
ἐμός, **1912**, 24, 30, 33, 44, 48, 54, 70, 105, 108; **1913**, 8, 12; **1915**, 33.
ὁδμος, **1912**, 26.
ἔμφυτος, **1916**, 31.
ἐν, **1912**, 90, 95; **1913**, 3; **1914**, *passim*; **1915**, 2, 15, 16, 18; **1916**, 7, 11, 15; **1917**, 2, 3, 9, 12, 15, 16 *ter*, 19; **1918**, 3, 18; **1919**, [3], 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 29; **1923**, 4, 12; **1924**, 6, 7, 10; **1925**, 2, 22; **1926**, 4, 16, 17, 18, 21; **1927**, 4 *bis*, 10, 39, 61; **1928**, 9, 12, 13; **1929**, 2, 4, 9, 23. for εἰς, **1914**, 16, 18, 21; **1915**, 3.
ἔνατος, **1914**, 10.
ἐνδείκνυμι, **1924**, 8. ἐνδείκνυμαι, **1916**, 31.
ἕνεκεν, **1914**, 57, 58.
ἐνοχλέω, **1915**, 18.
ἐνταῦθα, **1914**, 2.
ἐντέλλω, **1914**, 20. ἐντέλλομαι, **1917**, 24.
ἐντολή, **1924**, 3.
ἐντρέπω, **1927**, 52.
ἐνώπιον, **1927**, 8.
ἐξαγοράζω, **1927**, 45.
ἐξαίρετος, **1912**, 51 (εξερ.).
ἐξαιρέτως, **1912**, 24 (εξερ.).
ἐξάφινα (= ἐξαίφνης), **1914**, 3.
ἐξεγείρω, **1912**, 100.
ἐξελέγχω, **1912**, 77.
ἐξέρχομαι, **1913**, 15.
ἐξουσία: δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, **1912**, 15.
ἔξω, **1914**, 15, 30, 36, 37 *bis*, 50.
ἔξωθεν: ἀπὸ ἔξωθεν, **1914**, 30.
ἐπάγομαι, **1912**, 96.
ἐπαινέω, **1927**, 35 (επεν.).
ἐπαίρω, **1917**, 6 (εφ.), 18 (do.).
ἐπάν, **1914**, 51.
ἐπάνω, **1926**, 14, 24.
ἐπαπειλέομαι, **1914**, 20.
ἔπαρχος, **1912**, 59.
ἐπεί, **1927**, 50.
ἐπείγω, **1928**, 5. ἐπείγομαι, **1913**, 7.
ἐπειδή, **1912**, 2; **1914**, 30, 35, 49; **1915**, 5, 34; **1916**, 27, 28; **1920**, 9 (επειτε).
ἐπεξέρχομαι, **1912**, 99.
ἐπερωτάω, **1913**, 17.
ἐπί: with acc., **1914**, 15, 38; **1919**, 20; **1923**, 23; **1928**, 9; **1929**, 19. ἐπὶ πόλυ, **1915**, 17. with gen., **1912**, 37, 67 *bis*, 87; **1913**, 9; **1924**, 8 *bis*. with dat., **1912**, 55; **1914**, 35, 47; **1927**, 36.
ἐπιβουλία, **1923**, 9.
ἐπιθυμέω, **1927**, 38.
ἐπικαλέομαι, **1928**, 12.
ἐπίκειμαι, **1925**, 12.
ἐπιξενόω, **1914**, 16.
ἐπισκέπτομαι, **1914**, 26.
ἐπίσκοπος, **1913**, 4; **1914**, 7, 8, 27, 42, 47, 49.
ἐπισπαίρω, **1912**, 92.
ἐπιστήμη, **1925**, 1.
ἐπιστολή, **1912**, 4, 7; **1915**, 29; **1920**, 15.
ἐπιστόλιον, **1927**, 56.
ἐπιτείνω, **1915**, 29.
ἐπιτίθημι, **1915**, 10.
ἐπιτρέπω, **1912**, 30, 43; **1914**, 25; **1927**, 49.
ἐπίτροπος, **1912**, 44.
ἐπιφέρω, [**1913**, 17].
ἔπος: ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, **1915**, 8.
ἕπτα, **1914**, 47.
ἐπώνυμος, **1912**, 38 (επονυμαις).
ἔργω, **1914**, 16.
ἔρχομαι, **1914**, 4, 7, 9, 10, 13, 30, 35, 38; **1918**, 18; **1927**, 51.
ἕταιρος, **1912**, 105 (ετερ.), 108 (do.).
ἕτερος, **1912**, 38; **1913**, 5, 10 (?).
ἔτι, **1912**, 82; **1925**, 7 (?).
ἔτος, **1912**, 11.
εὖ, **1912**, 22; [**1929**, 9?].
εὐδοκέω, **1913**, 11, 21 (?).
εὐεργετικώτατος, **1912**, 3.
εὐήθης, **1912**, 40.
εὐθυμέομαι, **1927**, 10.
εὐθύνη, **1912**, 64.
εὐκαιρέω, **1925**, 3.
εὐκλεέστατος, **1927**, 30.
εὐλάβεια, **1925**, 5.
εὐλογημένος, **1917**, 10; **1923**, 2.
εὔνοια, **1912**, 10, 22.
εὑρίσκω, **1914**, 13 *bis*, 30, 51; **1916**, 22; **1917**, 7, 42.
εὐσέβεια, **1912**, 33.
εὐσεβής, **1912**, 23. εὐσεβέστατος, **1913**, 4.
εὐσπλαγχνία, **1916**, 31.
εὐφρασία, **1927**, 19, 21.
εὐχαριστέω, **1914**, 46.
εὐχή, **1923**, 7, 13; **1924**, 10;

1926, 8; **1927**, 13; **1928**, 4, 15; **1929**, 7.
εὔχομαι, **1916**, 30; **1917**, 2, [24]; **1919**, 4, 12; **1921**, 30; **1923**, 19; **1924**, 11; **1925**, 5, 10, 22; **1926**, 14, 24, 26; **1928**, 3, 9, 10.
ἐφηβεύω, **1912**, 53, 57.
ἔφιππος, **1912**, 44.
ἐφόδιος, **1927**, 50.
ἔχω, **1912**, 11, 23, 67, 68, 90; **1914**, 12, 37, 47; **1916**, 18; **1918**, 16; **1919**, 6, 18; **1928**, 8. ἀτονώτατα ἔχω, [**1929**, 14]. εὖ ἔχω, [**1929**, 9?].
ἕως, **1917**, 13; **1928**, 8.

ζάω, **1912**, 102.

ἤ, **1912**, 93, 96; **1927**, 57.
ἡγεμονία, **1912**, 54.
ἡγεμών, **1912**, 58, 81.
ἡγέομαι, **1912**, 6; **1925**, 4.
ἡδέως, **1912**, 28.
ἥδομαι, **1929**, 15.
ἥκω, **1926**, 17 (ικα), 19 (εικα).
ἥλιος, **1914**, 16; **1917**, 7 (ιλ.).
ἡμεῖς, **1912**, 9, 21; **1914**, 5 (?), 25, 29, 49; **1915**, 4, 5, 9, 10, 17, 32; **1916**, 20, 21, 23; **1917**, 3; **1919**, 1, 11, 20, 21, 26, 30; **1923**, 16; **1924**, 11; **1925**, 14 (?); **1927**, 35, 52, 54; **1928**, 3, 14; **1929**, 4 *bis*, 6, 7, 10, 11, 17, 20.
ἡμέρα, **1912**, 39; **1914**, 6, 28, 59; **1927**, 47. νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, **1917**, 15.
ἡμέτερος, **1912**, 75; **1913**, 9; **1929**, 18. τὸ ἡμέτερον, **1929**, 9.
ἡμίσεια, ἡ, **1915**, 25.
ἧσσον, **1912**, 57.

θάλασσα, **1914**, 39.
θαυμάζω, **1912**, 9.
θεάομαι, **1927**, 49.
θεῖος, **1913**, 3; **1915**, 4; **1929**, 19.
θέλημα, **1927**, 53.
θέλω, **1914**, 2; **1916**, 10; **1917**, 8; **1918**, 17.
θεός, **1912**, 9, 50, 59, 60, 62, 86, 87; **1914**, 2, 12, 36, 46; **1917**, 1, 3, 4, 6 *ter*, 7, 10, 14, 15 *bis*, 19 *bis*, 21–23, 25; **1918**, 17; **1919**, 4, 13, 19; **1921**, 30; **1923**, 5, 14, 22; **1924**, 12; **1925**, 2, 11; **1926**, 15; **1927**, 6, 41, 54; **1928**, 1, 16; **1929**, 2, 3, 23. σὺν θεῷ, **1919**, 9.
θεοσέβεια, **1924**, 4; **1925**, 3, 17; **1929**, 3.
θεοσεβέστατος, **1923**, 1; **1928**, 11.
θεοφιλής, **1923**, 2; **1927**, 2.
θεραπεύω, **1927**, 43.
θλίβω, **1914**, 24; **1916**, 20.
θλῖψις, **1914**, 42; **1928**, 12, 13.
θρεπτός, **1925**, 15.
θρησκεία, **1912**, 85.
θρησκεύω, **1926**, 10.
θυγάτηρ, **1926**, 20 (?), 28.

ἴασις, **1926**, 7, 9, 14.
ἴδιος, **1927**, 59.
ἰδού, **1918**, 12.
ἱδρύω, **1912**, 34 (υδροσασθαι).
ἱερός: τὰ ἱερά, **1912**, 50. ἱερώτατος, **1912**, 2.
ἱκανῶς, **1927**, 40.
ἱλαρότης, **1917**, 4.
ἱμάτιον, **1915**, 23.
ἵνα, **1912**, 7, 25, 82; **1914**, 32, 41, 49, 50, 58; **1915**, 13, 31; **1916**, 13, 26 *bis*, 34, 36; **1917**, 3, 12, 16, 18, 21 *bis*, 23; **1924**, 7, 8; **1925**, 10, [11]; **1926**, 6.
ἵστημι, **1912**, 48.
ἴσως, **1912**, 40 (ισσως).

κἀγώ, **1927**, 10.
καθά, **1912**, 61.
καθάπερ, **1912**, 99, 104.
καθαρισμός, **1913**, 6.
καθίστημι, **1913**, 8; **1916**, 35. καθίσταμαι, **1912**, 74.
καθώς, **1923**, 17.
καινός, **1912**, 68.
καινοτομία, **1913**, 14.
καίπερ, **1912**, 29, 74.
καιρός, **1927**, 42, 44; **1928**, 3.
κακῶς, **1912**, 64.
καλέω, **1912**, 46; **1913**, 3; **1917**, 22; **1919**, 17, 32.
καλός, **1929**, 16.
καλῶς, **1912**, 63.
κάματος, **1914**, 29.
κἄν, **1919**, 18.
καρδία, **1914**, 12; **1917**, 19, 23.
καρπόομαι, **1912**, 94.
καρπός, **1921**, 14.
κατά: with acc., **1912**, 7, 42, 49, 72; **1913**, 14; **1914**, 20, 24; **1916**, 6; **1917**, 21, 24; **1918**, 6, 10; **1919**, 24; **1925**, 8; **1927**, 42. with gen., **1912**, 78, 80; **1914**, 36. κατα, **1922**, 3.
καταβάλλω, **1912**, 69.
καταδείκνυμι, **1912**, 41.
κατακόπτω, **1914**, 14.
καταλαμβάνω, **1928**, 5.
κατάξιος, **1917**, 7 (?).
καταξιόω, **1925**, 7, 10; **1927**, 7.
καταπαύω, **1912**, 79.
καταπλέω, **1912**, 97.
κατασκευή, **1912**, 48.
κατάστασις, **1913**, 16.
κατέχω, **1914**, 35.
κατοικέω, **1912**, 91; **1916**, 16.
κάτω, **1914**, 42.
κέ for καί, **1926**, 16, 17.
κελεύω, **1912**, 89; **1913**, 4, 8; **1914**, 18; **1924**, 9.
κέλλη, **1914**, 12.
κενόδοξος, **1927**, 33.
κεφάλαιον, τό, **1916**, 43.
κηπολάχανον, **1917**, 13.
κηρύττω, **1927**, 45.
κινδυνεύω, **1914**, 14.
κληρόω, **1912**, 62.
κληρωτός, **1912**, 61.
κνίδιον, **1918**, 14, 15.
κοινός, **1912**, 99.
κομιδῇ, **1915**, 28.
κομιτᾶτος, **1914**, 31 (κομιδ.).
κομμενταρήσιος, **1914**, 4.
κοσμέω, **1926**, 2.
κοσμητικός, **1912**, 93.
κοσμικός, **1915**, 16.
κόσμος, **1912**, 40; **1927**, 32.
κρείττων, **1928**, 3.
κρίνω, **1912**, 51.
κρύπτω, **1914**, 12.
κύριος: adj., **1913**, 16. title, [**1919**, 1]; **1923**, 25; **1925**, 18, 23. God, **1915**, 2; **1917**, 15; **1927**, 50; **1928**, 14. κ. θεός, **1917**, 2, 3, 6, 14; **1919**, 4. ἐν κυρίῳ, **1916**, 7; **1918**, 3; [**1919**, 3]; **1925**, 22. ἐν

κ. θεῷ, 1921, 30; 1923, 4; 1925, 2; 1929, 2, 23. ἐν κ. Χριστῷ, 1919, 15; 1928, 9.
κώμη, 1913, 2.

λαμβάνω, 1912, 52, 98; 1914, 18; 1916, 42 (ελαβα); 1926, 7, 8, 14.
λαμπρός: λαμπρότατος, 1913, 1.
λεβίτων, 1920, 11; 1922, 5 (Λεϐιτογ), 11 (do.).
λέγω, 1912, 1, 67; 1914, 27; 1915, 14. εἶπον, 1912, 26, 74; 1915, 8; 1918, 17; 1923, 17.
λέντιον (Λεπτε), 1922, 5, 14 (?).
λόγος, 1915, 4.
λοιπός: τοῦ λοιποῦ, 1912, 91.
λυμαίνω, 1912, 86 (λοιμεν.).

μακάριος, 1915, 9, 14; 1917, 26; 1919, 25; 1921, 4. μακαριώτατος, 1917, 1, 8; 1921, 30.
μάκελλον, 1914, 43.
μακροθυμία, 1917, 5.
μακρόθυμος, 1917, 25.
μακρός: μακρὰν εἶναι, 1919, 18.
μάλιστα, 1912, 76; 1915, 4, 34; 1918, 12 (μαλλ.); 1919, 9 (do.), 29 (do.); 1929, 11.
μᾶλλον, 1912, 73; 1927, 35.
μανθάνω, 1916, 26 (see note).
μαρτυρέω, 1912, 105; 1919, 29.
μάρτυς, 1912, 26.
μεγαλαυχία, 1927, 34.
μεγαλειότης, 1912, 8.
μεγάλως, 1914, 29.
μέγας, 1914, 60; 1916, 11; 1919, 22; 1926, 11. τὰ μεγάλα, adv., 1924, 9. μέγιστος, 1912, 15, 26; 1914, 44; [1929, 13].
μείζων, 1912, 97.
μελέω: θεῷ μεμελημένος, 1917, 1, 4, 6, 10, 15, 23.
Μελιτιανοί, οἱ, 1914, 20.
μέλλω, 1927, 10.
μέν, 1912, 23, 29, 35, 46, 66, 74, 82, 94; 1913, 13; 1914, 46; 1916, 8; 1917, 2; 1918, 2; [1919, 4]; 1923, 6; 1927, 5; 1928, 3.
μένω, 1917, 12, 13.
μέριμνα, 1929, 16.
μέρος, 1914, 43; 1917, 18, 23.
μετά: with acc., 1914, 5; 1923, 13. μετὰ τό with inf., 1914, 15. with gen., 1912, 101; 1914, 5, 8, 9, 33, 53, 61, 62; 1917, 3, 4 *ter*, 9, [14], 22, 23, 25 (?); 1919, 27.
μεταβάλλω, 1912, 81.
μεταπέμπομαι, 1924, 4.
μετρέω, 1916, 25.
μέτριος: μετριώτερος, 1912, 65.
μέχρις, 1914, 39, 44. μ. τοῦ with inf., 1914, 17.
μή, 1912, 56, 79, 92, 98; 1913, 19; 1914, 13, 22, 23, 41, 48, 56; 1915, 15, 21, 36; 1917, 19 *bis*; 1918, 16; 1927, 58; 1928, 14. μή ποτε, 1927, 51.
μηδέ, 1912, 90, 92, 96.
μηδείς, 1912, 85, 89; 1913, 14.
μήκιστος, 1923, 23; 1929, 19.
μήν, 1912, 13; 1914, 6, 45.
μήπως, 1914, 49.
μήτηρ, 1929, 12 *bis*, 17.
μικρός, 1914, 60.
μιμέομαι, 1927, 38.
μιμνήσκομαι, 1919, 15; 1926, 16, 21; 1929, 7, 20. μέμνημαι, 1915, 13; 1924, 3, 9; 1929, 4.
μνημεῖον, 1912, 33.
μνήμη, 1929, 10.
μνημονεύω, 1923, 12.
μόγις, 1915, 25.
μονάριος, 1914, 19.
μοναχός, 1913, 2 (μονοχ.), 9 (do.), 10 (do.), 15 (do.); 1914, 20, 23; 1925, 25.
μονή, 1913, 2, 9, 13–15; 1914, 16, 21; 1917, 12, 21, 24; 1925, 25 (?).
μόνος, 1912, 50. οὐ μόνον, 1915, 15; 1917, 17.

ναός, 1912, 48, 60.
νέος: Νέος Σεβαστός, month, 1912, 13.
νεωκόρος, 1912, 60.
νήπιος, 1915, 28.
νῆσος, 1917, 9.
νομίζω, 1912, 85.
νομός, 1912, 42; 1913, 2.
νόσος, 1912, 100; 1926, 12; 1928, 5; 1929, 15.
νῦν, 1912, 69, 82, 106; 1914, 39; 1917, 13; 1923, 11; 1928, 4, 13.
νύξ, 1914, 3, 26, 27. νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, 1917, 15.

ὁ: ἑ for αἱ, 1914, 46. ἡ for αἱ, 1914, 59. ὑ for οἱ, 1912, 20, 61, 64. ὁ for ὅς, 1914, 3; 1918, 17. τοῦ with inf. for subordinate clause, 1914, 59; 1927, 54.
ὄγδοος καὶ εἰκάς, 1914, 45.
ὄγκος, 1915, 20.
ὅθεν, 1915, 10, 29.
οἶδα, 1912, 22, 68; [1913, 20]; 1916, 37; 1918, 10; 1923, 6; 1929, 10. ἰδαίνε = εἰδέναι for ἰδεῖν, 1917, 7.
οἰκεῖος, 1912, 104. τὸ οἰκεῖον, 1912, 94.
οἰκέω, 1912, 84. ἡ οἰκουμένη, 1912, 100.
οἰκία, 1914, 3, 5, 23.
οἰκονομέω, 1913, 13.
οἰκονόμος, 1913, 14.
οἶκος, 1912, 25, 33; 1926, 25; 1929, 18.
οἰκτίρμων, 1917, 20 *bis*.
οἰνόομαι, 1914, 10.
οἰνοπράτης, 1915, 17.
οἶος, 1912, 81 (υον).
ὀκνέω, 1916, 21.
ὀλέθριος, 1912, 79.
ὀλίγοι, 1914, 52.
ὁλοκαύτωμα, 1917, 16.
ὁλοκληρία, 1917, 3.
ὅλος, 1917, 19, 23; 1926, 25.
ὁμογνήσιος, 1913, 11.
ὁμοιότης, 1913, 14.
ὁμολογέω, 1913, 17.
ὁμολογητής, 1920, 28.
ὁμόνοια, 1913, 11.
ὅμως, 1912, 76.
ὄνομα: εἰς ὄνομα, 1928, 5. κατ' ὄνομα, 1916, 6; 1918, 6, 10; 1919, 24.
ὀπίσω, 1914, 49.
ὅπου, 1928, 13.
ὅπως, 1917, 6, 7; 1923, 11; 1927, 7.
ὁράω, 1912, 32; 1916, 28.

ὀργή, 1912, 78, 80, 81.
ὄρος, 1913, 3.
ὅς, 1912, 22, 25, 30, 38, 40, 45, 52, 60, 64, 72, 87 (*vs*), 89, 92, 97, 106; 1913, 9; 1914, 26, 28, 47; 1915, 30; 1916, 25; 1917, 19; 1928, 13.
ὅσος, 1912, 58.
ὅσπερ, 1912, 69, 87.
ὅστις, 1912, 66; 1915, 27.
ὅταν, 1927, 11.
ὅτε, 1917, 9, 13.
ὅτι, 1912, 33, 67, 79; 1914, 20, 25, 27 *bis*, 31, 37, 46; 1915, 35; 1916, 11, 17, 20, 37; 1917, 9, 25; 1919, 9, 18; 1923, 6; 1926, 14; 1927, 16, 36, 40, 47, 53, 57; 1929, 10, 15.
οὖν, 1914, 8, 11, 24, 25, 32, 34, 36–38, 48, 51, 56; 1915, 5, 36; 1916, 16, 31; 1917, 5, 8, 14, 21; 1918, 10; 1919, 12; 1927, 35, 53, 56; 1929, 6, 13.
οὐράνιος, 1915, 32.
οὐρανός, 1916, 15.
οὔτε, 1912, 49; 1928, 13 *bis*.
οὗτος, 1912, 42, 72, 80, 101; 1914, 15, 23, 37; 1915, 11, 12, 16, 20, 25; 1916, 10, 19, 21, 34; 1917, 3 *bis*, 17; 1919, 12, 16, 17, 32; 1924, 8; 1927, 10; [1928, 4]; 1929, 5, [15]. ἐκ τούτου, 1915, 20.
οὑτοσί, 1915, 29.
οὕτως, 1912, 53; 1916, 20; 1917, 20, 23; 1926, 8, 13.
ὀψία, 1914, 17.
ὄψις, 1925, 6.

παιδίον, 1914, 56, 60.
πάλιν, 1912, 78; 1914, 15, 40.
παπ (?), 1921, 11.
πανάγιος, 1916, 1 (?).
παπο' (?), 1922, 11.
πανταχῆ, 1913, 17.
πάντη, 1912, 33.
παντοκράτωρ, 1929, 3.
πάνυ, 1912, 63; 1914, 24, 38; 1915, 34; 1916, 16, 20; [1927, 53?].
πάπας, 1914, 25.
παρά: with acc., 1915, 19; 1926, 18. with gen., 1912, 52; 1914, 63; 1915, 31, 40; 1916, 42; 1918, 22; 1920, 28: 1921, 32; 1924, 7; 1925, 14 *bis*; 1926, 28; 1927, 9; 1928, 3; [1929, 7]. with dat., 1912, 22, 39, 106; 1916, 36, 40; 1917, 2, 3, 6, 14; 1925, 20; 1926, 7; 1928, 1, 16.
παραγγέλλω, 1914, 22. παραγγέλλομαι, 1915, 4.
παραδίδωμι, 1916, 22; 1917, 12.
παραιτέομαι, 1912, 49 (παρετουμε).
παρακαλέω, 1917, 15; 1923, 11; 1924, 9; 1925, 9; 1926, 5; 1927, 5; 1928, 4; 1929, 6.
παραμένω, 1929, 4.
παραπίπτω, 1915, 3, 6; 1916, 29.
παράπτωμα, 1917, 14.
παρατυγχάνω, 1912, 4.
πάρειμι, 1913, 9, 20 (? — παρημε).
παρεμβολή, 1914, 8, 10 *bis*, 11, 12, 13, 17, 21, 22, 46.
παρέχω, 1914, 29.
παρίημι, 1912, 26, 42.
παροινέομαι, 1914, 27.
παρουσία, 1913, 8, 12.
πᾶς, 1912, 4, 51, 56, 58, 98, 106; 1913, 13 (?); 1914, 52, 61; 1915, 4, 12, 23, 28, 37; 1916, 4, 5, 34; 1917, 2, 14, 15 (?), 21, 27; 1918, 3, 11, 19; 1919, [4], 6, 13, 24, 25, 27, 29; 1923, 8, 9; 1924, 8; 1925, 19; 1926, 2; 1927, 5; 1929, 17.
πάσχω, 1914, 3; 1915, 7; 1916, 11.
πατήρ, 1914, 52, 57; 1915, 32; 1918, 1, 11; 1921, 31; 1923, 3, 21, 25; 1924, 1, 13, 14; 1926, 5, 27, 28; 1927, 6; 1928, 1, 11, 16; 1929, 1, 19, 22. God, 1917, 16 *bis*.
πατρίκιος, 1913, 1.
πατριότης, 1916, 32.
πατρίς, 1915, 18.
πάτρων, 1916, 9.
παύω, 1914, 46.
Παχών, 1914, 6, 45.
πείθω, 1916, 27; [1929, 10].
πειράζω, 1917, 12.
πειρατήριον, 1923, 8.
πέμπω, 1914, 26; 1918, 12, 16.
πεντακόσιοι, 1916, 42.
πέντε, 1914, 16 (πεντη).
περί: with acc., 1912, 23, 24, 45, 46, 47 *bis*, 107; 1914, 49; 1915, 5; 1927, 61. with gen., 1912, 20, 52, 66; 1913, 6, 13 (?), 15 (?); 1916, 10, 20, 25; 1917, 9, 22, 24 *bis*; 1918, 11, 17; 1919, 13; 1923, 17; 1927, 60; 1929, 13.
περιεργάζομαι, 1912, 90.
περίκειμαι, 1926, 12.
περιουσία, 1912, 95.
περιποιέω, 1915, 26 (περιν.).
περιπτύσσομαι, 1925, 6.
περισκεπάζω, 1915, 24.
περίστασις, 1915, 6.
πιάζω, 1914, 11, 16, 35.
πιπράσκω, 1915, 25.
πιστεύω, 1921, 15, 18; 1926, 8, 13 *bis*; 1927, 15, 48, 53; 1928, 7; 1929, 14.
πίστις, 1915, 15; 1919, 19; 1921, 8.
πλεῖστος, 1916, 27. πλεῖστα χαίρειν, 1918, 2; 1919, 3.
πλείω, 1912, 89 (πληωι).
πλέον, 1928, 4.
πληγή, 1914, 46.
πλῆθος, 1912, 5; 1913, 7 (?).
πλήν, 1912, 56.
πληρόω, 1917, 1, 5; 1927, 59.
πλοῖον, 1914, 41.
πνεῦμα, 1925, 8; 1926, 18. ἐν πνεύματι, 1927, 4, 61. πνεῦμα ἅγιον, 1917, 1, 4, 5, 10, 15, 17, 22.
ποθεινότατος, 1925, 1, 23.
ποιέω, 1912, 32; 1914, 24, 28 *bis*, 36, 47, 57; 1916, 33; 1917, 9, 14, 21; 1919, 16, 32; 1927, 53(?); 1928, 6; [1929, 10]. ποιέομαι, 1912, 103 (ποησ.), 106; 1913, 7; 1914, 14; 1916, 9.
ποῖος, 1914, 20, 42.
πόλεμος, 1912, 74.
πόλις, 1912, 3, 4, 10, 16, 21, 55, 84, 90, 95, 103.
πολιτεία, 1912, 55; 1927, 31, 39.

πολιτικός, 1912, 62.
πολλαχῶς, 1914, 38.
πολύς, 1912, 20, 22, 24, 75, 84; 1913, 5, [10]; 1916, 27, 37; 1923, 20; 1925, 22; 1928, 9; 1929, 4. ἐπὶ πόλυ, 1915, 17. πολλά, adv., 1918, 3; 1919, 24; 1926, 23; 1929, 18.
πομπεύω, 1912, 38.
πονηρός, 1927, 47.
ποτέ, 1912, 66, 92; 1915, 17; 1927, 51.
πότερος, 1912, 74.
πούς, 1926, 18, 19.
πρᾶγμα, 1912, 69, 70; 1913, 13; 1914, 3; 1923, 18.
πραέως, 1912, 83.
πραιπόσιτος, 1914, 17, 18, 26.
πρᾶξις, 1915, 12, 16.
πραότης, 1912, 101.
πράττω, 1912, 92; 1914, 2, 5; 1919, 22.
πρεσβεία, 1912, 91.
πρέσβυς, 1912, 20, 75.
πρεσβύτερος, 1913, 2, 5, 9; 1914, 1, 43; 1915, 40; 1916, 2; 1917, 11.
πρό, 1912, 58, 68; 1917, 2; 1918, 2; [1919, 4]; 1927, 5.
πρόγονος, 1912, 104.
προγράφω, 1913, 7.
προείρημαι, 1912, 30.
προέρχομαι, 1914, 17 (προερθιν).
προεστώς, ὁ, 1913, 2, 15 (?).
προθύμως, 1927, 14.
πρόκειμαι, 1913, 18 *bis*.
προκηρύσσω, 1919, 29.
προνοέω, 1913, 13.
πρόνοια, 1912, 103, 105; 1929, 19.
προοδεύω, 1919, 11.
πρός: with acc., 1912, 10, 21, 29, 73, 85, 102; 1913, 6, 7; 1914, 4, 7, 25, 34, 57; 1915, 11, 21, 29; 1917, 6, 18 *bis*, 21, 22; 1918, 18; 1923, 15, 19; 1925, 3; 1926, 19; 1927, 14; 1928, 5; 1929, 17. τὸ πρὸς πρωί, 1914, 18. abs., μιᾶς καὶ πρός, 1918, 14.
προσαγορεύω, 1912, 27, 79; 1919, 23, 25, 27; 1925, 4, 8 (?), 18; 1926, 19; 1927, 3; 1929, 18.
προσδέχομαι, 1912, 28; 1927, 12.
προσδοκάω, 1928, 15.
προσεῖπον, 1925, 13, 14.
προσευχή, 1917, 8; 1921, 20; 1926, 17, 21; 1929, 5, 9.
προσηγορία, 1919, 23.
προσῆκον, 1919, 14.
προσίεμαι, 1912, 41, 96.
προσκυνέω, 1929, 18.
προσκύνησις, 1916, 8.
προσλιπαρέω, 1912, 36.
προσπάσχω, 1929, 13.
προσφέρομαι, 1912, 65, 83.
πρότερον, 1912, 89, 92.
προφήτης, 1928, 12.
πρωί: τὸ πρὸς πρωί, 1914, 18.
πρῶτος: πρῶτον, 1912, 69; 1916, 8; 1927, 55. πρῶτα as adv., 1912, 29.
πυκνοτέρως, 1929, 6.
πύλη, 1914, 15.
πωλέω, 1915, 25.

ῥᾴδιος, 1912, 29.
ῥύομαι, 1925, 11.
ῥώννυμι: ἔρρωσθε, 1912, 109. ἐρρῶσθαι, 1916, 30; 1921, 30; 1923, 19; 1925, 22; 1926, 26; 1928, 8. ἐρρωμένος, 1924, 10; 1929, 19.

σαφῶς, 1912, 68.
σεβαστός, 1912, 29. Κλαυδιανὴ Εἰρήνη Σεβαστή, 1912, 35. Νέος Σεβαστός, month, 1912, 13. See also Index 2.
σεμνότατος, 1927, 31.
σημειόω, 1913, 18.
σίγνα, 1914, 18.
σῖτος, 1914, 51, 57, 58.
σκεῦος, 1914, 39, 40.
σκρίβας, 1914, 18.
σός, 1924, 3; 1926, 8; 1928, 3; 1929, 3, 5 *bis*.
σπουδάζω, 1912, 25 *bis*, 34, 52; 1916, [13?], 16. σπουδάζομαι, 1917, 20.
σπουδαῖος, 1917, 10.
σπουδή, 1917, 14, 22, 23, 25 (?); 1918, 10; 1924, 7.
στάσις, 1912, 73.
σταῦρος, 1917, 6, 19.
σταφύλιον, 1918, 14 (σταφυλ.).
στέρνον, 1919, 18.
στοργή, 1916, 32.
στρατιώτης, 1914, 9, 11, 26; 1916, 42.
σύ, 1923, 15. σέ, 1916, 30(?), 33 (l. σοί); 1917, 8, 26; 1919, 23, 25, 27; 1923, 19, 23; 1924, 10; 1925, 6–8, 22; 1926, 5, 23, 25, 26; 1927, 4, 9, 61; 1928, 4, 8; 1929, 18, 19. σοῦ, 1915, 33; 1917, 6; 1918, 11; 1919, 13; 1923, 7, 13; 1924, 10; 1925, 4, 5, 10, 17, 21; 1926, 16, 18, 19, 21; 1927, 30, 39, 49, 60; 1928, 4; 1929, 8, [9]. σοί, 1917, 2, 5, 27; 1918, 3 (l. σέ), 12, 17; 1919, 25, 26, 28; 1926, 16; 1927, 41, 54, [56], 62; 1929, 16. See ὑμεῖς.
συγκλείω, 1914, 10, 17, 22, 43–45.
συγχριστός, 1919, 32 (συνχρηστ.).
συγχωρέω, 1912, 32, 46.
συκοφαντία, 1914, 35.
συλλέγω, 1916, 24, [39?].
συμβάλλομαι, 1915, 13, 30.
σύμβιος, 1926, 23.
συμβοηθέω, 1916, 19.
συμπομπεύω, 1912, 39.
συμπονέω, 1919, 7.
συμφέρω, 1912, 69.
συμφορά, 1915, 3.
σύν, 1913, 5; 1917, 27; 1918, 5, 19; 1919, 5, 9, 21, 24, 26 *bis*, 28; 1927, 62.
συνάγω, 1912, 72; 1913, 9.
συναριθμέω, 1919, 31.
συνέχω, 1914, 38; 1919, 22.
συνεχῶς, 1928, 10.
συνήθης, 1912, 66.
συνίσταμαι, 1912, 71.
συντείνω, 1925, 3.
σφοδρῶς, 1916, 20.
σφραγίζω, 1916, 41.
σώζω, 1923, 7.
σῶμα, 1926, 17
σωτήρ, 1919, 20; 1927, 6; 1929, 15.
σωτηρία, 1919, 21; 1923, 14.

ταλαίπωρος, 1917, 7.
τάλαντον, 1914, 51; 1916, 43.
ταμιεύω, 1912, 22. ταμιεύομαι, 1912, 77.
ταπεινός, 1917, 7.
ταραχή, 1912, 73.

τάχα, **1918**, 17 (?); **1927**, 41.
τάχος: *ἐν τάχει*, **1918**, 18.
τε, **1912**, 8, 32, 43, 58, 71 (*ται*); **1913**, 5.
τέ for *δέ*, **1912**, 31, 42, 72.
τέκνον, **1915**, 28, 35; **1916**, 17.
τελευταῖος, **1912**, 25.
τέσσαρες, **1914**, 13.
τετράπωλος: *τὸ τετράπωλον*, **1912**, 45.
τετρὰς καὶ εἰκάς, **1914**, 6.
τηρέω, **1914**, 50.
τιμή, **1912**, 28, 41; **1922**, 20.
τίμιος: *τὰ τίμια*, **1912**, 55. *τιμιώτατος*, **1912**, 36; **1917**, 2; **1918**, 1; **1926**, 1, 5, 27, 28; **1927**, 1, 61; **1929**, 1, 19, 21, 22.
τις, **1912**, 56, 100; **1913**, 4; **1914**, 4, 11; **1916**, 12, 22, 24, 39; **1918**, 15; **1928**, 14.
τοιοῦτος, **1912**, 29, 50; **1913**, 7; **1916**, 29.
τόκος, **1916**, 43.
τόπος, **1914**, 24.
τοσοῦτος, **1912**, 40.
τρεῖς, **1914**, 37.
τριετής, **1912**, 63.
τρισμακάριος, **1927**, 46.
τρίτος, **1912**, 47.
τρόπος, **1912**, 30, 38, 72; **1912**, 99; **1915**, 37; **1916**, 35.
τυγχάνω, **1915**, 6, 17; **1925**, 17.
τύπος, **1917**, 6 (*τοιπως*), 19 (do.).
τών for *τόν*, **1912**, 107.

ὑβρίζω, **1914**, 19, 26, 28.
ὑγιαίνω, **1929**, 6.
ὑγίεια, **1919**, 16; **1928**, 8.
υἱός, **1914**, 33, 48; **1915**, 32; **1917**, 11; **1929**, 16. Christ, **1917**, 15, 16.
ὑμεῖς, **1912**, 20, 27, 28 (*ημ.*), 30, 38, 39, 43, 56, 58, 65 (*ημ.*), 67, 104, 106 (*ημ.*), 107; **1914**, 2, 4, 5; **1915**, 12, 13, 29, 30; **1916**, [5], 7, [8], 13, 15, 31, 32, 39; **1917**, 8, 16, 20; **1918**, 5, 18, 19; **1919**, 28; **1925**, 21; **1928**, 15; **1929**, 7, 8.
ὑμέτερος, **1912**, 33 (*ημ.*).
ὑπάγομαι, **1912**, 21.
ὑπάρχω, **1912**, 23, 104.
ὑπατία, **1913**, 1.
ὕπατος: *ὕπατος ἀποδεδειγμένος*, **1912**, 15.
ὑπέρ: with acc., **1916**, 23. with gen., **1912**, 62, 107; **1913**, 19; **1924**, 11; **1925**, [11], 15 (?); **1927**, 13; **1928**, 3, 10.
ὑπερβάλλω, **1925**, 1.
ὑπερβολή, **1916**, 15.
ὑπέρχομαι, **1912**, 56.
ὑπό (with gen.), **1912**, 28, 51, 58; **1913**, 4; **1914**, 24; **1915**, 7, 18, 22; **1916**, 12; **1919**, 30.
ὑποδεέστερος, **1916**, 7.
ὑποδέχομαι, **1914**, 21–23.
ὑπομιμνήσκω, **1924**, 5, 6.
ὑπόνοια, **1912**, 97.
ὑποτίθεμαι, **1912**, 35.

φαίνομαι, **1919**, 28.
φακός, **1918**, 13.
Φαμενώθ, **1913**, 1; **1917**, 13.
φάσις, **1914**, 27, 30, 34.
φέρω, **1914**, 9, 40, 42; **1919**, 5 (?); **1927**, 55.
φιλανθρωπία, **1912**, 102.
φιλάνθρωπος, **1912**, 81. *τὰ φιλάνθρωπα*, **1912**, 55.
φιλανθρώπως, **1912**, 83.
φιλέω, [**1929**, 11].
φιλοκἀγαθία, **1927**, 40.
φιλοξενία, **1917**, 4, 14.
φιλοτιμέομαι, **1912**, 76.
φιλοτιμία, **1912**, 106.
φόβος, **1912**, 64; **1914**, 12.
φοινίκιον, **1918**, 12.
φορτικός, **1912**, 49. *φορτικώτερος*, **1912**, 37.
φρονίμως, **1927**, 36.
φυλακή, **1914**, 44 (*φοιλ.*).
φυλή, **1912**, 41.
φύσις, **1912**, 23.
φωνή, **1912**, 27.
φῶς, **1917**, 7.
φωτεινότατος, **1917**, 1.

χαίρω: *χαίρειν*, **1912**, 16; **1914**, 2; **1915**, 2; [**1916**, 7]; **1923**, 5; **1925**, 2; **1926**, 4; **1929**, 2. *πλεῖστα χαίρειν*, **1918**, 2; **1919**, 3. *χαῖρε*, **1917**, 2; **1920**, 3. *χαίρετε*, **1921**, 2.
χαρά, **1917**, 3.
χαρακτήρ, **1927**, 48.
χαρίζομαι, **1912**, 58; **1929**, 9. active, *χαρίζω*, **1927**, 41.
χάρις, **1912**, 11; **1927**, 8.
χαρτίον, **1917**, 3.
χείρ, **1917**, 6, 16, 18.
χειρόγραφον, **1917**, 7.
χράομαι, **1912**, 87, 107.
χρεία, **1918**, 16.
χρεωστέω, **1915**, 22; **1916**, 28.
χρή, **1912**, 73.
Χριστιανικός, **1913**, 6 (*Χρηστ.*).
Χριστιανός, **1919**, 17 (*Χρηστ.*).
χριστοφορία*, **1928, 8 (*χρηστ.*).
χριστοφόρος, **1926**, 1 (*χρηστ.*).
χρόνος, **1912**, 22, 66, 84; **1913**, 12 (?); **1923**, 20, 24; **1925**, 23; **1928**, 10; **1929**, 4, 20.
χρυσοῦς, **1912**, 34.
χωρά, **1912**, 45; **1913**, 12; **1914**, 42.

ψήφισμα, **1912**, 20.
ψωμίον, **1914**, 49, 52.

ὥρα, **1914**, 10; **1919**, 13.
ὡς, **1912**, 23, 56, 59; **1913**, 12; **1914**, 40; **1915**, 8; **1916**, 18; **1917**, 6, 19; **1919**, 31; **1921**, 10; **1927**, 40; **1929**, 8, 10 (?).
ὥσπερ, **1912**, 35, 90.
ὥστε, **1914**, 14, 22; **1915**, 8; **1921**, 6; **1927**, 58.
ὠφέλιμος, **1927**, 24.

(*b*) Coptic Words.

ⲁⲡⲁ, **1920**, 4 (?); **1921**, 21; **1922**, 12.
ⲁⲣⲱⲙⲓ, **1922**, 8.
ⲁⲟⲩⲱ (ⲁⲩⲱ), **1922**, 7, 18 (cf. 13).
ⲃⲓⲡⲉ, **1922**, 18.
ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ, **1920**, 22.
ⲉⲓⲱⲧ, **1922**, 2.
ⲙⲁⲓ-, vb., **1922**, 6, 15.
ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲉⲓ, **1921**, 10, 12.
(ⲙⲉ) ⲙⲣⲣⲉⲓⲧ, **1921**, 19.
ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ, ⲣ̄ ⲡ-, **1920**, 25, 27; **1921**, 19.

ⲁⲁⲱⲉ, 1922, 3.

ⲟⲉⲓⲡⲉ, 1920, 22.
ⲟⲩⲱ, news, 1922, 27.
ⲟⲩⲁⲉⲓⲉ, 1921, 13.
ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ, 1921, 7.
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲩ, vb., 1921, 23.

ⲣⲁⲁⲛ-, 1920, 1, 6.
ⲣⲏⲧⲉ, 1920, 11, 17.
ⲣⲧⲁϩ, 1922, 8, 9.
ⲣⲟⲩⲟⲧ, 1921, 5, 9, 16.
ⲣⲁⲟⲩⲱⲩ, 1922, 9.

ⲥⲟⲛ, 1920, 20. ⲥⲁⲛ, 1921, 22; 1922, 2, 17, 22.

ⲥⲛⲛⲉⲟⲩ (ⲥⲛⲁⲩ), 1922, 8, 9, 19.
ⲥⲣⲁⲉⲓ, 1920, 1. ⲥⲣⲉⲓ, 1922, 1.

ⲧⲱϩⲣ, 1920, 25.
ⲧⲁⲁ- (ⲛⲧⲁⲁ-), 1921, 3.
ⲧⲁⲛⲟ, 1920, 18, 19, 20.
ⲧⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧ, 1920, *passim*.
ⲧⲙⲛⲁⲩ, 1921, 23, 26; 1922, *passim*.
ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ, 1920, 17.
ⲧⲁϩⲟ, 1922, 27.
ⲧⲁϩⲣ, vb., 1921, 12.

ⲱⲛⲁⲁ, 1921, 9.
ⲱⲁⲣⲉⲡ, 1921, 14.

ⲱⲟⲟⲩⲉ, vb., 1920, 22.

ϩ- in ϩⲁⲛ- = ⲁⲛ- prefix, 1922, 4, &c.
ϩⲓ-, prep., 1922, 5.
(ϩⲱⲃ) ϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲉ, 1921, 6 (cf. 12).
ϩⲙⲁⲧ, ⲱⲡ-, 1921, 3.
ϩⲓⲥⲉ, vb., 1921, 13, 16.
ϩⲙⲧ, north, 1922, 4.

ϫⲟ ⲉϩⲟⲗ, 1920, 14.
ϫⲁⲉⲓⲧ, 1922, 10.
ϫⲱⲕ ⲁϩⲁⲗ, 1921, 15.

ϭⲱⲱⲧ, 1922, 4.
ϭⲓϭ (ϭⲓϫ), 1922, 19.

5. INDEX OF REFERENCES

(*a*) AUTHORS.

	PAGE
Acta Pauli (Coptic)	97
Apophth. Patrum, Ammon. 10	64
— Arsen. 24	64
— Sisoe (Migne, lxv, 405, $\overline{\mu\eta}$)	41^{8}
Aristides, *Apol.* (*Journ. Theol. Stud.*, xxv, 73–7)	88
Athanasius, *Apol. ad Const.*, 10	116^{2}
— *Apol. c. Ar.*, 17	67, 68
— — 18	70
— — 28	67
— — 29	64
— — 40	67
— — 50	101
— — 59	$38, 39^{6}, 40, 55$
— — 60	46, 66
— — 64	65, 114
— — 65	$46^{3,5}$, 66
— — 67	64, 89, 101
— — 70	46^{8}
— — 71	$40^{1}, 44^{1}, 57^{1}$, 63, 66, 67, 103, 114
— — 71–2	40^{3}
— — 72	67
— — 73	103
— — 78 ff.	67, 69
— *Apol. de fuga*, 6	69
— *De Incarn. Verbi*, 25	84
— *Ep. ad Adelphium*	117
— *Ep. ad Dracontium*, 7	117
— *Ep. ad Epictetum*	117
— *Ep. ad Episc. Aeg. et Lib.*, 22	41^{4}
— *Ep. ad Ioann. et Ant.*	116
— *Ep. ad Jovianum*	117

	PAGE
Athanasius, *Ep. ad Lucif.*, ii	116–17
— *Ep. ad Maximum*	117
— *Ep. ad Orsisium*	117
— *Ep. ad Rufinianum*	117
— *Ep. ad Serap.*, 2	66
— *Epist. encycl.* (Migne, xxvi, 1338 A)	69
— *Ep. Pasch.*, iv	46^{1}
— — xix	101
— Festal Index	40, 47, 55^{2}
— *Hist. Ar.*, 10	69
— — 30	66
— — 31	69
— — 48	63
— — 54	69
— — 55	64
— — 55–8	66
— — 56	35
— — 63	69
— — 72	101, 114, 117
— — 78	41^{5}
— *Tom. ad Antioch.*	101
— *Vita Antonii*, 61	67
Athenaeus, v, 196a ff.	3^{2}
— vi, 240b	7^{2}
Bible: Ps. cxvii, 5	115
— Prov. v, 14 (Coptic)	96
— Mich. vii, 20 (Coptic)	93
— Jon. ii, 3	115
— Zach. iv, 1 (Coptic)	93
— Macc. iii	11, 12
— Mk. viii, 7 (Coptic)	96
— Acts vi, 15	93

	PAGE
Bible: Acts xviii, 2	19[1]
— — xx, 35	75
— Rom. x, 11	96
— — xiv, 1	75
— 1 Cor. x, 25	68
— Gal. vi, 10	75
— Eph. v, 16	113
— 1 Thess. v, 14	75
— 1 Tim. v, 8	75
— 2 Tim. ii, 4	96
— — ii, 6	96
— Tit. ii, 13	75
— Ja. v, 14	75
B. M. Add. MS. 14732, f. 118	71
Cedrenus, p. 760 D, 762 A, 771 A	69
Cod. Just., i, 46, 4	65
— xii, 59, 8	65
Coptica, i, *Homélies coptes*, p. 65	42
Dio Cassius, li, 16, 3–4	35
— li, 17, 2	9
— li, 17, 3	8[2]
— lix, 29, 4	29
— lx, 4, 3 f., 5, 7	21[2]
— lx, 5, 1–2	31
— lx, 5, 3	32
— lx, 5, 3–4, 12, 5	31
— lx, 6, 6	19[1]
— lx, 8, 4	21[1]
— lx, 17, 4	4[4]
— lx, 33, 7	20[3]
— lxvi, 9, 2	29
Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.*, lxviii, 3	39[4]
— lxviii, 4	39[5]
— lxviii, 5	40[2], 41[2], 70, 101
— lxviii, 5–6	55[1]
— lxviii, 6	41[3, 5]
Eusebius, *Vita Const.*, iii, 23	40[8]
— — iv, 41	84
— — iv, 42	51–2
Herodotus, v, 77	34
Hilary of Poictiers, iv, p. 53	46[2]
— iv, p. 53 f.	47[1, 3]
— iv, p. 54	47
— iv, p. 54 f.	54[1]
— iv, p. 55	56[3]
— iv, p. 77	63
Joh. Lydus, *De Mag.*, iii, 8, 16	68
Josephus, *Ant.*, xii, 121	14
— — xiv, 188	14
— — xiv, 213	13
— — xv, 47	30
— — xviii, 257–9	17
— — xix, 81	31
— — xix, 213	4[3]

	PAGE
Josephus, *Ant.*, xix, 278	17
— — xix, 280–5	3[2], 12[4], 14–16
— — xix, 281	9
— — xix, 282 f.	9
— — xix, 283	37
— — xix, 286–91	15
— — xx, 135	20[5]
— *Bell. Iud.*, ii, 487	10[2], 11[4]
— — ii, 487–8	14
— — ii, 488	13
— — ii, 495	10[3]
— *c. Ap.*, i, 288–303	29
— — ii, 35	10[2], 13
— — ii, 37	14
— — ii, 38	14
— — ii, 63	31
Loewe (G.), *Corp. Gloss. Lat.*, v, 423	65
MSS. coptes de Leyde, 185	93
Mém. miss. arch. fr., iv, 740	41[8]
Metaphrastes, *Ath. Vita*	67
Migne, *P. G.*, xviii, 572–82	67
Palladius, *Hist. Laus.*, xi	103
Patr. Or., i, 473	42
— iii, 412 f.	42
— v, 198–9	42–3
Philo, *In Fl.*, 2, 7	16
— — 4, 20	29
— — 4, 23	31
— — 6, 43	11, 14
— — 8, 53	13
— — 8, 55	11[1], 13[1]
— — 10, 74	12[4]
— — 10, 78–9	13, 14
— — 10, 80	14
— — 12, 97	31, 32
— — 20, 172	13
— *Leg.*, 16, 115	37
— — 17, 119	36
— — 20, 132	11
— — 20, 134	32, 36
— — 20, 135	34
— — 22, 150, 151	35
— — 22, 151	33
— — 28, 178	13[4]
— — 28, 183	13[4], 14
— — 43, 338	31
— — 44, 349	13
— — 46, 370	17
Photius, *Ath. Vita*, 6	67
Pliny, *N. H.*, xix, 1, 3	29
— xxxvi, 57	33
— xxxvi, 69	35
Plutarch, *Anton.*, 80	35
— *Reg. et Imp. Apophth., Aug.*, 3	35
Polyb., iv, 47, 4	36

	PAGE
Rossi, *Nuovo Cod.*, p. 3	93
— — p. 88 f.	65
Routh, *Rel. Sacrae*[2], iv, 91–4	38
Rufinus, *H. E.*, i, 4	101
— — i, 16	66
Seneca (the elder), *Controv.*, 7, 4, 3	29
Seneca, *Apoc.*, 7, 4 f., 12, 2, vv. 43–5	21[2]
— — 8	7[1]
— *Quaest. Nat.*, iv, 2, 13	29
Socrates, i, 8, 11	101
— i, 9	42[1]
— i, 27	41[3], 46[6], 55
— i, 28	66
— i, 29	66
— i, 38	68
Sozomen, i, 11	64
— ii, 21	40, 41[3], 41[5]
— ii, 21–2	55[1]
— ii, 22	47[1]
— ii, 23	46[6]
— ii, 25	46[6], 47, 48, 56[1], 57[1], 63, 101
— ii, 31	41[7]
— iii, 2, 5	56[3]
— iii, 14	114
Sozomen, iii, 21	54[1]
Spartianus, *Vita Severi*, 17	8[2], 9
Strabo, xvii, 9 (794)	35
— ap. Jos., *Ant.*, xiv, 117	12[4], 13
Suetonius, *Claudius*, 2	32
— — 11	31
— — 12	31
— — 14	21[2]
— — 16	4[4], 21[3]
— — 25	19[1]
— — 42	4[3], 7[2]
— *Nero*, 36	29
Suidas, Ἀλέξανδρος, 204	29
— Διονύσιος, 1394	29
— Ἡμίεργον, 853	35
Tacitus, *Ann.*, ii, 59	31
— xi, 13	21[3]
— xi, 31	7[1]
— xii, 37	20[3]
— xiii, 22	29
Theodoret, *H. E.*, i, 9, 14	42
— — i, 28, 2–4	47
— *Haer. Fab. Comp.*, iv, 7	42[1]
Vita Anon. Ath., 12	67

(*b*) Inscriptions.

	PAGE
Archiv, v, 162	36
B. M. Coptic Room, stele 1481	71
Bull. Corr. Hell., xi, 1887, 307	7
Cemeteries of Abydos, iii, 39	98
C. I. G. add. 2113 c	30
— 2130, 57	30
— 3190	35
— 3484	35
— add. 3831. a 17	35
— 4734	30
C. I. L. iii, Suppl. 6983	6, 32
Dessau, 212	21[4]
— 5883	6
Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.*, ii, 663, 5	32
— *Syll. Inscr. Gr.*[3], 785, 7–9	36
Eg. Expl. Fund, Arch. Survey, xii, *Deir el-Gebrâwi*, ii, pl. xxix, 4	71
I. G. Rom. i, 920	30
— iii, 328	7
— iii, 1145, 4	63
Klio, xiii, 485–90	9[8]
Rec., xi, 147	93
Rev. ét. gr., xxxiii, 1920, 375 ff.	4[5]

(*c*) Papyri and Ostraca.

	PAGE
BGU. 91, 1	85
— 114 + Cattaoui, 1, v, 6–8	34
— 1131, 14, 22	12
— 1140 = Wilcken, *Chrest.* 58	12
— 1151, 7 f.	12
Crum, *Catal.*, no. 358	42
— — no. 557	70
— — no. 711	97
— — no. 1028	98
Crum, *Catal.*, no. 1102	91
— — no. 1224	65
— *Copt. MSS.*, 45, 14	71
— *Monastery of Epiphanius*, no. 177	65
— — no. 327	93
— *Short Texts*, no. 184	97
— — no. 389	65
Ghedini, 25	101–2, 109
— 25, 10	79

	PAGE
Ghedini, 25, 19 f.	119
Gnomon, § 40	34
— § 44	34
Krall, 47, 2	71
P. Amh. 85, 1; 86, 1	33
— 101, 7	52
— 145	44–5, 102, 104
P. Cairo Masp. 67021 verso, 16	49
— 67023	73
— 67288, ii, 2, 4	71
P. Cattaoui 1+BGU. 114, v, 6–8	34
P. Fay. 37, 1	69
— 108, 1	85
P. Flor. 50, 65	52
— 140 verso, 1	84
P. Hib., p. 8	71, 106
P. Iand. 62	73
P. Lips. 18	100
— 54, 4	52
P. Lond. 239, 21	88
— 413, 12, 16	65
— 417, 3	65
— 840, 2	33
— 899	84
— 948	33
— 982	79
— 1177	33
— 1416, 23	68
— 1419	43
— 1435, 125	68
— 1709, 88	65
— ined. Inv. No. 1966	45
P. Oxy. 33	20, 113
— 33 verso, iv, 6	30
— 87	100
— 102, 3	116[2]
— 268, 1	30
— 488, 17	87
— 526, 1	84
— 965	106
— 996	70
— 1068, 20	88
— 1071, 4, 8	79
— 1185, 13	84
— 1242	30 *saepe*
— 1242, col. iii	31
— 1295, 11–13	73
— 1418, 15	36
— 1492, 1	84
— 1495, 3–5	84
— 1559	100
— 1683, 17 f.	88
— 1871, 5, 6	79
P. Oxy. 1890, 2	63
— 1896, 9	70
— 1900, 5	68
— 1901, 61	63
— 1911, 66	71
— 1917, 63	100
— 1928 verso, 12	51
— 1929, 3	88
— 1941, 2	70
— 1967, 3	68
P. Petrie iii, 99, 10, 17, 28	106
P. Rainer R 172	34
P. Ryl. 133	7
— 149, 1–4	34
— 206, 37	106
P. Ryl. Copt. 269–75, 292, 301, 311, 312, 314, 352, 396	91
— 276, 311, 313	94
PSI. 168, 26	85
— 183	100
— 205, 1	116[2]
— 208, 1	84
— 216, 4	68
— 424, 11–14	73
— 478, 2	71
P. Tebt. ii, 286	30
P. Thead. 24, 25	51
SB. 1984 (*f*)	87
— 2246	106
— 5124, 39	71
— 5174	42[4]
— 5175	42[5]
— 5366	71
— 5747, 8	87–8
— 5748, 6	64
Spiegelberg, *Eigennamen*, p. 47*	63
Stud. Pal., x, 297, 11	71
— xx, 7, 12	106
— — 32, 8	106
— — 52, 5	71
— — 52, 15	106
— — 68 v., ii, 5–6	68
— — 103, 4, and v.	71
— — 106, 13	116[2]
— — 111	100
— — 117, 5	106
Wadi Sarga, no. 1	97
Wilcken, *Chrest.* 14	19 f.
— — 60	11[2]
Z. f. vergl. Rechtsw., xxxv, 93 ff.	35

PLATE I.

Letter of Claudius, 1912, col. 5

1914, recto.

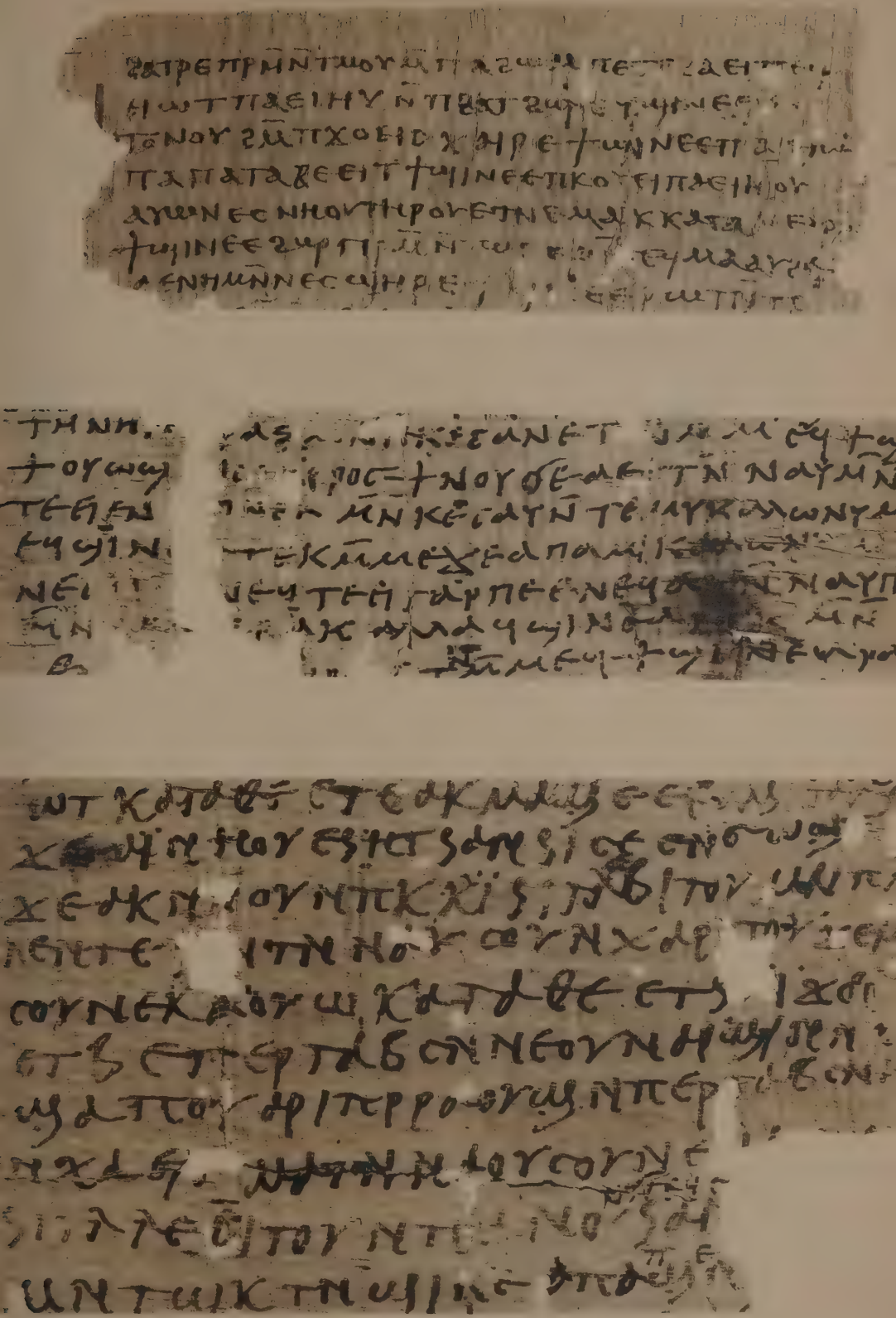


PLATE III.

(*a*) Letter of Hatre. **1920**, ll. 1–7. (*b*) Letter of Paiëous. **1921**, ll. 22–8.

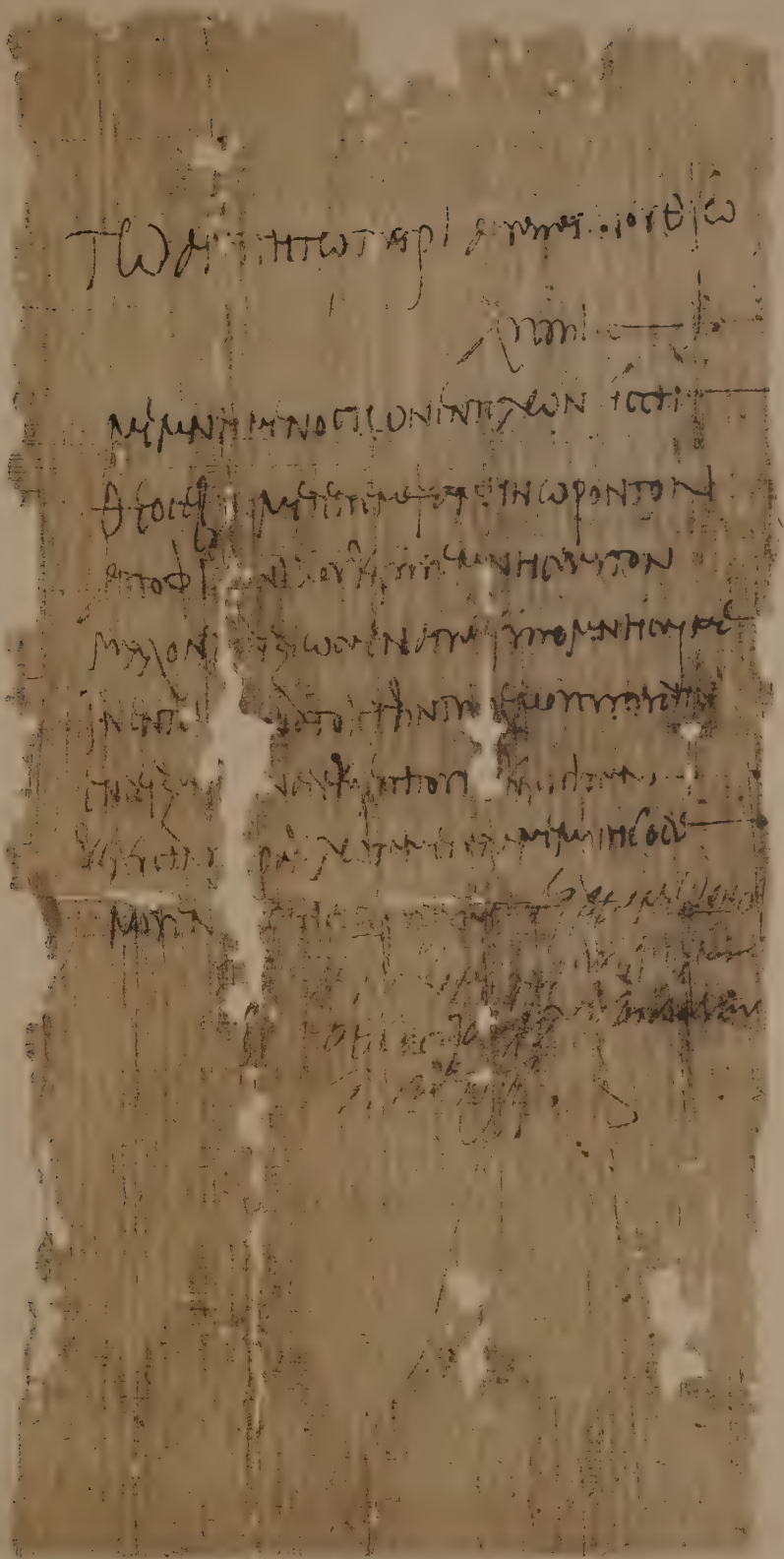
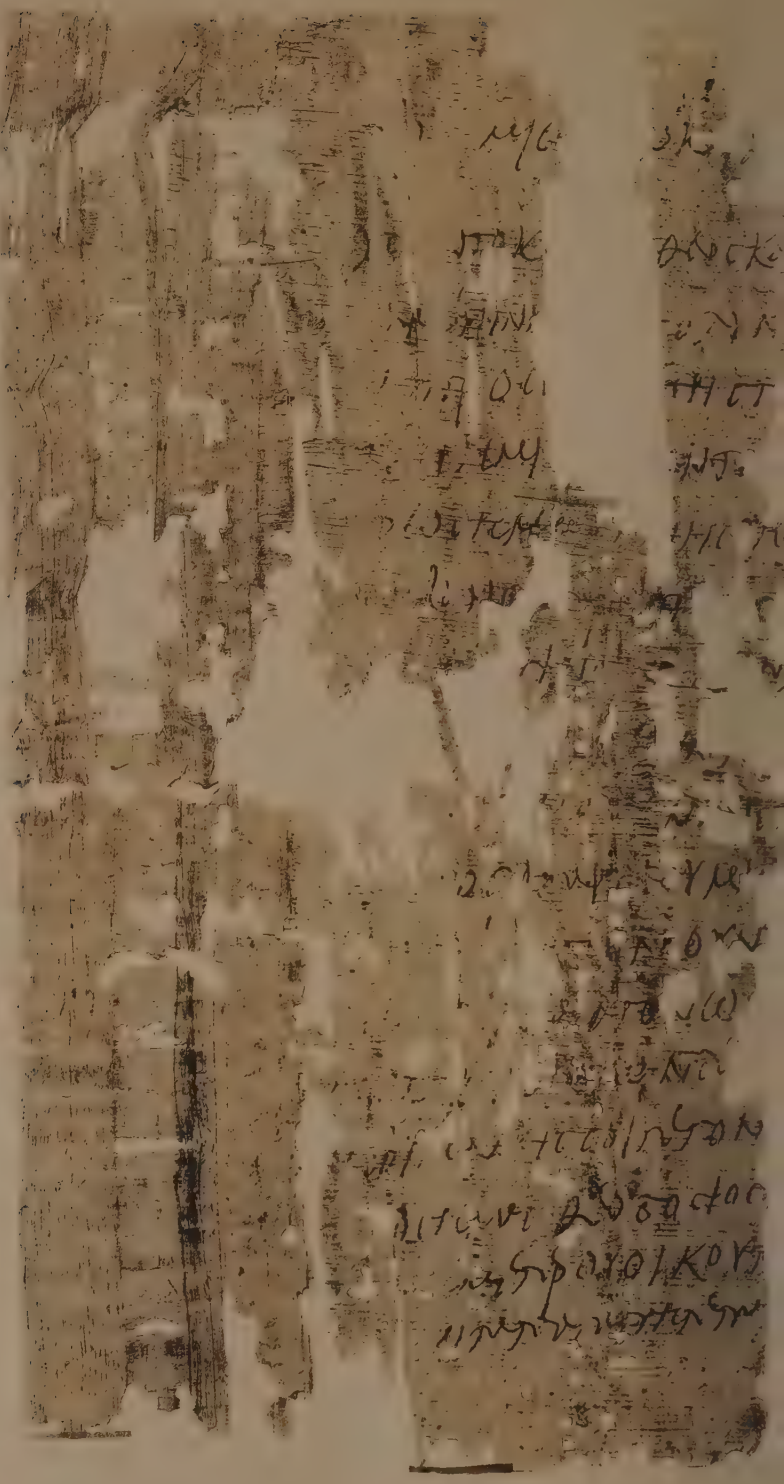


PLATE IV.

Letter of Ausonius. 1924.



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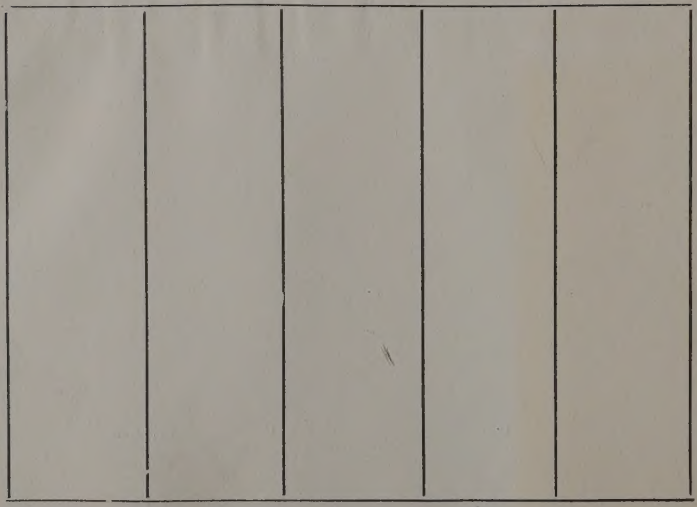

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